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ART. I.—JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION.

"O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken," the Saviour said to his two disciples as they walked on their way to Emmaus, and were sad (Luke 24: 18-33.): "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?"

The "*ought not*" here may be referred to both clauses of the proposition, so as to mean that it was necessary for Christ to die and to enter into his glory, in order that he might by his glorification carry out in full the great purpose for which he had come into the world. Properly, however, the necessity in question is affirmed of the first part of the proposition in order to the second. Christ must pass out of the world through suffering and death as the only way in which he could enter into his glory.

Why was this order necessary? Why must the Redeemer of the world die, to fulfil his heavenly mission?

It may be answered, that the truth of the old Testament Scriptures required it. In no other way could they be fulfilled. The disciples are charged with folly, in not having understood and considered this. And so, we are told, "beginning at Moses, and all the prophets he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself" (v. 27); as afterwards again in the midst of the eleven, we hear him declaring (v. 44), "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me."

Whereupon it is added, "Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations."

But this answer, it is easy to see, does not carry us at all to the inward reason of the fact which it serves to authenticate as right and true. God's revelation must of course be in harmony with itself from beginning to end. The plan of salvation foreshadowed in prophecies and types must agree with the plan of salvation fulfilled finally in Christ. But this only brings back upon us with new emphasis and force the question before proposed: Why was it necessary that the Saviour should have his mission to fulfil in this way? Why were the Scriptures so framed from the beginning as to converge throughout in this strange sense, that Christ must suffer and die in order that he might enter into his glory?

The answer may be again, that in no other way could he make satisfaction for the sins of men, and thus open the way for their being restored to the favor of God. It was necessary that sin should be atoned for by the penalty of death; the whole Gospel centres in the idea of sacrifice; without the shedding of his blood Christ could not be a true Saviour for sinners. Therefore "he bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sins should live unto righteousness." By his death he became "the propitiation for the sins of the whole world." The *blood* of Jesus Christ the Son of God, we are told, "cleanseth us from all sin."

In all this there is unutterably precious truth. But still it does not of itself at once conduct us to the last sense of our question. Suffering and death abstractly considered have no force, in and of themselves, to atone for sin. We can easily conceive of the sufferings of Christ himself being so circumstanced, that they would have been of no efficacy whatever for this end. If he had suffered, for ex-

ample, in some other nature and in some other world than our own, the sacrifice must have been for us of no account. Or what is yet more to the purpose, if he had in our nature suffered and died in such way as to have continued afterwards under the power of death, it is plain that all the sorrows of Gethsemane and Calvary would have been powerless to take away a single sin. We cannot say therefore of this relation of Christ's death to the "call for blood" which is supposed to lie in the idea of God's offended justice, that it forms of itself the final cause or absolutely last reason of the law, which made it necessary for him to die in order that he might be a perfect Saviour. His death made atonement for sin; just as it was an exemplification also of the highest moral truth for the saving benefit of men through all time; but neither of these purposes can be said to have exhausted its intention or bounded the full scope of its action. They were both comprehended in a necessity of religion broader and deeper than themselves; and with reference to this it is that the question still returns upon us with more solemnity than ever: *Why* did it behoove Christ—having undertaken the redemption of the world—to suffer and to pass out of the world by death, in order that he might accomplish his mediatorial office and work?

The full proper answer lies in the form of the Saviour's interrogation itself, as already explained. "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter"—that is, so as to enter, or in order that he might enter—"into his glory." It was necessary that he should die, since only in that way could he reach the glorious consummation of his mediatorial office, and become thus qualified in full to impart life and immortality to the world.

The nature of this necessity will appear, if we reflect upon the constitution of the Redeemer's person in its relation to the present world.

Christianity roots itself in the mystery of the incarnation. By the power of that great fact it started originally, in the person of Christ, within the bosom of our present natural human life. To redeem man, the Word became flesh,

clothing itself with our nature in the most real way. It did so because the idea of redemption required more than any merely outward foreign help. The help must incorporate itself with the life of humanity itself, so as to work by this and through this for the accomplishment of its ultimate object. Such was the meaning of Christ's person, as he stood among men in the days of his flesh. He was the wisdom and power of God unto salvation, in human form. The fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him bodily.

But the very same mystery which makes sure to us the real humanity of Christ, assures us also of the continual presence in his person of a life higher and far more powerful than that of our common manhood in its present natural form—a life supernatural and divine—in virtue of which alone it was possible for him to fulfil his mediatorial work, so as to become the author of salvation for the world. The incarnation means nothing except as it is taken to involve throughout the fact of this higher nature in Christ, and to require at the same time the full unfolding of its resources and powers in connection with his proper humanity, as the only way in which we can conceive of any such revelation as being true and complete. It lay thus in the very constitution of the Redeemer's person that its more than simply human attributes, qualities, and powers—what belonged to it as the eternal Word tabernacling in flesh—should come to suitable development and manifestation. Only so could he display the full perfection of his own being; only so could he take possession of his kingdom and glory; and only so could he be completely qualified as the prince of life, to save his people from their sins, and to bring them up finally from the power of the grave.

For all this, however, there was no room, no sufficient theatre and platform we may say, in the existing economy of the present world. The conditions and limitations of our life as it holds here in the order of nature are such, that it was not possible for the full power and glory of Christ's person, and so for the full sense and purpose of his mission into the world, to come out and make themselves

known under any such form. The impossibility was both physical and moral.

Regarded simply in its *natural* constitution, it was not possible that the world as it now stands could be a sufficient theatre for the manifestation of the kingdom and glory of Christ. It belongs to the very conception of nature, that it should exist in the form only of continual revolution and change. The fashion of the present world, in this view, is always passing away. It subsists by a perpetual process of coming and going. To this law of vanity man himself in his present life, forms no exception. As comprehended in the general constitution of nature, though including in himself at the same time the principle of a wholly different superior order of life, he is subject so far as this lower relation prevails to the same conditions of change that characterize the system everywhere else. His physical being here is in no sense commensurate with his moral or spiritual being; and nothing is more plain, than that this last needs and demands for its ultimate full development some different mode of existence altogether—a mode of existence in which while the physical shall remain, it will be no longer as the physical merely holding in its own order, as in the present world, but as the life of nature sublimated and transfigured into the life of spirit. In such view the present world, the mortal condition into which men enter here by birth only to pass out of it again by death, could never as such become the seat of a truly perfect and glorified humanity; and it was not possible, therefore, that the kingdom of God as it revealed itself in Christ, for the accomplishment of man's redemption in this form, could ever actualize itself in full on any such theatre or in any such sphere. It might begin here, nay, it was necessary that it should thus come in the flesh in order to be a true redemption for men born of the flesh—but it could not keep itself throughout to such unequal bounds; it must find room for itself by going beyond them, and unfolding a new order of existence answerable to its own nature.

There is represented to be thus, in the Scriptures, a con-

stitutional incompatibility between the present world, naturally considered, and the kingdom of God. The very idea of this kingdom involves attributes, which suppose and imply the passing away of much that is essential to the notion of the world as it now stands.

But the difficulty here is not simply physical, a want of full congruity between the conception of nature and the law of life in Christ Jesus; it meets us still farther under a moral aspect, and only in that view indeed comes out at last in its whole significance and force. That man should be subject to the general vanity of nature, and need to be supernaturally redeemed from it, notwithstanding his own spiritual constitution, in virtue of which it ought to be ancillary only to the objects of his higher life, is a fact which in and of itself convicts him of having fallen from righteousness into sin. His present life, being so related to the economy of nature around him, is not normal. His subjection to such vanity is plainly a penal curse. Death with him is the wages of sin; and his whole present mortal state, accordingly, running as it does continually toward this end, and having for itself no other possible issue or outlet, is comprehended in the terrible force of this law from beginning to end. How then should it be possible for him to be redeemed in full in his present mortal state? How should he be made superior to the curse of his fallen life, in the very circumstances and conditions which show the power of the fall itself, as it rests upon him in the present world from the cradle to the grave?

The case in this view is put by the Bible in the strongest light, when the present world itself, as a whole, is represented as having by reason of man's sin, fallen in some way under the actual dominion of Satan, so as to be now through his bad auspices positively hostile to all righteousness and truth. He is denominated the "prince of this world," the "prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." He is the "god of this world who blinds the eyes of them that believe not"—through the objects, relations and interests of

the present world of course—"lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." This way of representing the subject is too general, and too explicit, to allow of its being resolved into mere metaphor. Most clearly the Scriptures see in the world, as it now stands, an organized power of sin, over which Satan presides, with the purpose of defeating if possible all God's thoughts of mercy toward our fallen race. When Christ came into the world, it was to do battle with this prince of darkness and his kingdom in the most real way. So much was signified by his personal conflict with the Devil in the wilderness, immediately after his baptism; a conflict which served to foreshadow the meaning of his whole subsequent ministry, and which came finally to its last scene only when he could say: "Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out; and I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me"—signifying, we are told, what death he should die. In conformity with which, his incarnation is said in another place to have been for this purpose, "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."

It lay thus in the very idea of man's redemption, that it could not be completed in the form, and under the conditions of his present worldly life; for that would imply, that it might co-exist with the curse from which it seeks to set him free, and be in fact part of the very same constitution of things that has grown out of the curse, and which is pervaded and ruled throughout by the law of sin and death. If our human life was to be redeemed at all, it must be by its being "delivered from this present evil world" (Gal. 1: 4); and such deliverance to be real must be in the form of a victory, surmounting the whole order of the world as it now stands, and revealing itself as a force greater than nature, greater than sin and all the consequences of sin, under another and altogether different mode of existence.

While it was necessary then that the Son of God, having undertaken the work of man's redemption, should for this purpose become man, and so make himself subject to the curse of his present fallen state, it was full as much necessary that he should not continue in the sphere of the curse—the constitution of man's life as it holds in the present world—but that he should break through this sphere, by exhausting and conquering the whole power of the curse, so as to make room for his kingdom and glory under a higher form. And being fully qualified for all this in the constitution of his person, through the union of the divine nature with his humanity, it was not possible that his incarnation, in its relations to the present world, could take any other course. His manifestation in the flesh here was necessarily a circumscription of his proper mediatorial life and power, an obumbration or hiding of his essential mediatorial glory, which in the nature of the case could not be permanent, but must be regarded as a temporary economy or process simply through which, in the fulness of time, the full mystery of his higher nature would break triumphantly into view. "It was not possible," we are told, "that he should be holden of the pains of death"—that the grave should be able to retain him in its power. But this may be said with equal force of his whole subjection to the power of the present world—the power of nature, including in it now the curse of sin and the inevitable issue of death. That which made it impossible for him to be holden of death, made it impossible for him also to be holden of the mortal constitution through which the natural life of man in the present world is penally shut up from the beginning always to this dread conclusion. Being in himself the principle of righteousness and life, he could not stay in the region of mortal vanity, he could not remain imprisoned in the sphere of the curse; he must burst all these bars, break through all these limitations, in order that the "powers of the world to come," which were all along inclosed in his person, might be able to unfold themselves in a way commensurate with their own glorious nature.

As the bearer of our fallen humanity, it was necessary thus for Christ, in order that he might enter into his glory, not simply to pass out of this world, but so to pass out of it that he should at the same time bear its curse. The law of sin and death, the power of Satan which prevails in the world through this law, must be met and surmounted in its own sphere, to make room for the law of life as a superior force in another sphere. The moral limitations of man's present state must be overcome in the way of righteousness, as well as its physical limitations in the way of power. In other words the Redeemer must exhaust the curse by entering into it and taking the full weight of it upon his own soul. He must suffer in order that he might be glorified. He must die in order that he might destroy, not only death, but him that had the power of death, and so bring life and immortality to light through the gospel.

This is the idea of the atonement; an idea which centres indeed, of course, in the passion and death of the Saviour, but yet never in these apprehended under an isolated separate view—as though the death of Christ *per se*, and without reference to anything farther, were sufficient at once to take away sin in the character of a legal payment in full to God's offended justice. The power of Christ's death to take away sin, its atoning and saving efficacy, is *always* conditioned in the New Testament by the fact of his resurrection, the victorious superiority of the law of life in him as thus asserted over the law of sin and death. Without the resurrection the death could be of no account. It is his victory over the grave that gives significance to all his sufferings, and imparts to his blood the whole virtue by which it has become the propitiation for the sins of the world.

To fulfil his mission at all then as the Redeemer of our fallen race it was in every way needful that Christ should suffer and die, so as to rise again, and take possession of his kingdom in its proper, eternally glorious form. The problem of redemption itself required it; and it was made

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necessary also by the constitution of his own person. It would have been a grand contradiction, to pretend to set up and complete his kingdom in this world. The eye of the Saviour himself, accordingly, was steadily directed through the whole course of his ministry toward what he saw to be the necessary end of it in his violent death. His disciples indeed, to the very last, clung to the expectation that he would still assert his Messianic glory, agreeably to the common notion among the Jews, under an outward temporal form in the present world. But this was in the face always of their Master's own most plain and solemn words, affirming just the contrary; and when their understanding was properly opened for the purpose after his resurrection; they could see easily enough that it was against the true sense also of the old Testament scriptures, as well as at war wholly with every right view of Christ's person and work. For the salvation of the world, we may say all depended on the glorification of Christ; and this was conditioned absolutely, not simply by his coming in the flesh, but by his suffering in the flesh, and passing out of the world by death. The incarnation must complete its own necessary historical movement in the person of the blessed Redeemer himself, by his being made to suffer the contradiction of sinners, and the furious assaults of hell, out to the extremity of death itself, and by his rising again from the dead, and ascending to the right hand of God—all power being given unto him in heaven and in earth—before it could become fully available, fully prevalent rather, for the purposes of salvation in general, through the mission of the Holy Ghost as it began to take place on the day of Pentecost. "The Holy Ghost," it is said in one place, "was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." So he continually speaks of his own removal from the world, as being not merely the signal, but the cause, for such a spread and triumph of his kingdom as could have place in no other way. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die," we hear him saying with reference to this very thought, "it abideth alone; but if it

die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Again: "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away the comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you." The entire gospel, with all its opportunities and powers of salvation, depended on Christ's glorification.

The "glory" into which Christ entered by his sufferings and death was in one view the same, which he had with the Father before the world was (John 17: 5). But in another view it was a new state or condition, resulting from his union with humanity and the work of redemption. It was the glory of his mediatorial life advanced to its full perfection, in the form of victory over the powers of darkness and evil in the world. It was the glorification of the man Christ Jesus, made perfect through suffering, and exalted at last to the free unobstructed use of the prerogatives and powers which belonged to him as the Son of God. This was the end and object of his humiliation from the beginning. He became a man, and made himself subject to the curse of humanity in its present fallen state, that he might roll away the curse, and in his human nature itself become head over all things to his church. Because he humbled himself, we are told, God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name (Phil. 2: 8, 9). For the joy that was set before him in this form, he endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of God (Heb. 12: 2). He descended first into the lower parts of the earth, that he might ascend up afterwards far above all heavens, leading captivity captive, and so have power to confer all heavenly gifts upon men (Eph. 4: 8-10).

The relation of this mediatorial glory of Christ, then to his previous state of humiliation in the present world, was not one simply of local difference—the humiliation belonging to one world and the glory a waiting fact in another—making it necessary for him to pass from the first over to the second that he might possess the fact as his own; as strangers, for example, may find it necessary to cross

mountains or seas, in order to come to their proper homes. The relation was one at the same time of real cause and effect. The humiliation of the Redeemer, by its victorious issue, created and brought to pass his mediatorial glory—his condition of perfected humanity in virtue of which only he is the author and finisher of salvation for men; just as the seed, to use his own image, which is cast into the ground and dies there, through that very process of decomposition, is not simply metamorphosed afterwards into another form of life, but actually produces and calls into being what it thus dies to reach. Only as sin, and death, and hell were first conquered in his person; only as the principle of life which was in him became the actual presence of the resurrection, bringing the whole order of the world under his feet, and making room for his glory as a fact brought to pass in this way of victory and conquest; only as the powers of that higher life in the Spirit were first triumphantly asserted in the mediatorial glorification of Christ himself, was it possible for any such state or condition of glory, any such reign or kingdom of salvation, to have real being at all for our fallen race. Thus literally must we take his own words: "I am the resurrection and the life." Because he lives, his people live. Their life is hid with him in God, so that when he appeareth they shall appear with him in glory. As he is the first-born of the natural creation, by whom all things were created that are in heaven and that are in earth, so is he also the beginning, the first-born from the dead, in whom is comprehended the whole power of the new spiritual creation, in virtue of which all his saints are to be raised up to life and immortality at the last day (Col. 1: 16-18).

All this being so, well might the risen Redeemer say: "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?" In no other way could the work of redemption become complete. In no other way could the mystery of the incarnation show itself to be true. The only order of faith here, as distinguished from all humanitarian fancies and from all Gnostic dreams, is that of the

ancient Christian Creeds. Starting with the supernatural conception and birth of the Saviour, it goes on immediately to confess his passion, his death, his descent to hades; only to proclaim, however as the necessary result of this the glorious fact of his rising again from the dead, his ascension to the right hand of God, the consequent sending of the Holy Ghost, the establishment thus of the Church, and the economy of grace within its bosom, from its one baptism for the remission of sins onward and forward to the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting.

The subject leads us to some general reflections on the nature of Christianity in its relations to the present world.

I. The Christian salvation, by its very conception, is a supernatural fact which must in the end transcend the constitution of the world as it now stands altogether, going out of it and beyond it, and finding room and opportunity for its full development only in a new and higher mode of existence.

This in one view seems to be so plain a truth as necessarily of itself to command universal acknowledgment; since all men do in fact pass out of the present world by death, and if saved at all therefore can be saved in full only on the other side of death and the grave. But the proposition now before us means a great deal more than this. What it affirms is a constitutional difference between the kingdom of Christ and the present world, making it impossible for them to cohere permanently in one system, and requiring the last absolutely to pass away in order to make room for the first. This is not at once plain for the general thinking of men; and there has always been a tendency in the human mind accordingly, to reduce the difference in question to one of mere measure and degree, to make it more outward than inward, more relative than absolute, so as to invest the idea of the kingdom of God after all with something of a mundane character, carrying out more or less the order of our present natural life.

Such, we know, had come to be the reigning opinion among the Jews, when our Saviour made his appearance in

the world. They looked for a Messiah who should rule as a temporal prince, restoring the throne of David, and extending his empire under a worldly form throughout the whole earth.

The same expectation was fondly cherished by the disciples of Christ, and exerted an active influence over them, even after they had come to apprehend in some measure the spiritual glory of his person, notwithstanding all the pains he himself took to eradicate every such thought from their minds. "We trusted it had been he," they say sorrowfully after his death, "which should have redeemed Israel." And even when fully assured subsequently of his resurrection, they were not able at once to take in the full sense of that transcendent fact, but are heard still asking: "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel" (Acts 1; 6). It needed the baptism of the day of Pentecost to liberate them completely from this Jewish preconception, and to reveal to them the true nature of the kingdom of heaven, as being an economy based upon the resurrection of Christ, which must therefore necessarily transcend along with this fact the entire constitution of the present world.

In different ages of the Church, the expectation of the millennium, and of Christ's personal reign upon the earth, has not unfrequently assumed a form involving virtually again the same old Jewish error.

There is however another more subtle, and more common, mode of overlooking the difference, which holds between the constitution of nature and the constitution of grace. It consists in regarding the kingdom of heaven as the continuation and carrying out in some way of the right order of the present world; so that if it may not be actualized here in full, there may be at least a near approximation to it through a proper use of the powers and possibilities of our general life this side the grave. Christianity, it is assumed, must be in harmony with the relations and needs of man's nature in his present worldly state; and what these show to be his obligation and calling here—

physically, intellectually, socially, morally—that must be considered as fitting him also for his proper destination hereafter, and as forming, therefore, a direct preparation at least for the kingdom of heaven in the world to come. Such is the humanitarian evangel, which in one form or another has come to prevail so widely especially in our own time, thrusting itself into the place of the true gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. According to this the measure and criterion of Christianity are to be found in its supposed suitableness to the earthly interests of men in their present earthly state; and the prosperous furtherance of these interests, accordingly, is held to be the onward march of the gospel itself, advancing steadily to its millennial glory, and anticipating the full idea of the kingdom of heaven. The order of nature is regarded thus as a system or process, which completes itself by its own movement in the order of grace. “From nature up to nature’s God,” is made to be the watchword of religion in place of that grand announcement: “No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” To bring matter into subjection to mind through science and art—to verify the sense of the eighth psalm, as far as possible, in a merely natural way, instead of reaching after its verification in the way signified in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews—is held to be for man the great problem of his life, the first law of his ethical being, in fulfilling which he cannot fail to be true at the same time to the claims and behests of religion. Material interests readily transmute themselves thus into spiritual interests. Gain becomes godliness. The triumphs of political economy, the successes of agriculture and trade, pass themselves off for the triumphs and successes of Christianity. Knowledge affects to be, not only power, but piety also and faith. The idea of freedom and the rights of man puts itself forward as synonymous with the idea of redemption. The civilization of the world challenges acknowledgment and regard, as being in truth the evangelical salvation of the world.

But how different now from all these terrestrial schemes and conceptions, is the representation of Christianity and the kingdom of heaven with which we are met, when we look into the New Testament? My kingdom, Christ says, is not of this world. The way to it for himself lay through the world, and out of it, into another order of existence altogether; and how could it be for his people then any new disposition simply of the mortal *seculum* in which they have their being this side the grave, or any continuation merely of its laws and forces over into the world beyond. There can be but one law here for Christ and his followers; the disciple must be as his Master. If it was necessary for Christ to conquer and transcend the whole constitution of the world as it now stands, in the way of death, that he might enter into his glory, it must be no less necessary for Christians, if they are to have part in this glory, to pass out of the world in the same way. So much indeed is comprehended in the fundamental rule of Christianity: "Deny thyself, take up thy cross, and follow me; as well as in the pregnant aphorism: "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." The kingdom of heaven is no mere continuation or carrying forward of the order of this life, whether physical or ethical; it is constitutionally different from this; and is to be reached and possessed only as the whole system of things seen and temporal is superseded at last, through death and the resurrection, by things unseen and eternal.

II. Hence the true significance of the doctrine of the resurrection, and its momentous importance in the Christian system.

The gospel begins in the birth of Christ only to complete itself in his resurrection. Without Easter, Christmas can never be more than an Ebionitic lie or a Gnostic dream. The higher life which joined itself with our dying humanity in the person of Christ, to authenticate itself as real and true, must return again with this humanity to its original sphere. He that descended must also ascend—far above all heavens—up where he was before (Eph. 4: 10.

John 6 : 62). "I came forth from the Father," we hear him saying, "and am come into the world ; again I leave the world, and go to the Father" (John 16 : 28). Being what he was from the beginning, the Word incarnate, the only begotten of the Father tabernacling in flesh, it was not possible that his life could hold itself to the bounds of our present earthly state—still less that it could remain shut up under the natural conclusion of that state in the grave and in the dark world of Sheol or Hades ; it must rise from the dead, and in doing so burst the cerements at the same time of this whole mortal economy, showing death and sin to be conquered forces, and asserting its own original superiority in a new order of existence altogether. This is what we mean by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead ; and it is easy to see, how in this view it forms the grand argument or proof of his mission, and becomes for all genuine faith the keystone which binds together the universal arch of Christian doctrine. It is no outward seal simply—the attestation of a stupendous miracle—ratifying and confirming the Messiahship of the Saviour ; it is the necessary end and completion of the idea itself which entered into the constitution of his person, without which this must be at once convicted of fantastic unreality. Without it he would have been an impostor, even if he had not pledged his truth previously on the fact. It was the only way in which he could be demonstrated effectually to be the Son of God (Rom. 1 : 4). Being put to death in the flesh, he must be quickened in the spirit (1 Peter 3 : 18). Manifested in the flesh, he must be justified in the spirit, that is, vindicated and shown to be divine through the power of the higher life which was in him, surmounting the law of death, and advancing him to heavenly glory, through the resurrection (1 Tim. 3 : 16).

The resurrection of Christ, being thus the natural result and necessary issue of his heavenly life in its union with the mortal life of men in this world, it could not be a return simply to the condition in which he was previously to his death, the mere recovery of what had been transient-

ly lost by that change. The restoration of Lazarus from the grave was nothing more than this; it served merely to re-instate him in his old life. But it was not for Christ to be brought back from the dead in any such way as that. With the view that is sometimes taken of his death, indeed, as including in itself the whole power of the gospel in the light of a purely outward price paid for sin, and complete for this purpose by itself alone, a resurrection of this mundane sort, bringing after it the setting up of Christ's kingdom in the present world, might seem to involve no fatal contradiction; and it is easy to see also that it would fall in happily enough with much of the humanitarian thinking of the present day, if only we were allowed to conceive of the Saviour's victory over the grave in this way. But every such conception turns the mystery of the incarnation into a figment at last, just as really as if it were pretended that his death was followed by no resurrection whatever. He rose from the dead in virtue of what he was *more* than all that belonged to humanity beyond his own person; and his resurrection, therefore, was not only a return to what he was as a man before, but a free unfolding at the same time of the living power which was previously veiled under his earthly state—but which made itself known now in the way of victory over the universal order of the natural world, abolishing death, and bringing life and immortality to light.

And what the resurrection of Christ is for the doctrine of his person, that in the view of the New Testament the resurrection of believers is also for the doctrine of their future salvation. They are saved through the power of a new heavenly birth—the birth of the Spirit in contradistinction to the birth of the flesh—a birth from above, made possible by the coming down of the Divine Logos into the sphere of our present fallen life—in virtue of which, they are made through union with him to be partakers of the Divine nature, to be the children of God, so as to have in them even here the principle of an indestructible life, which shall be found to triumph hereafter over death itself, in

bringing up their bodies from the grave, and causing them to be fashioned into the likeness of the glorious body of Christ himself. The idea of the Christian redemption is never that of a salvation which consists in the mere perfecting of the order of man's present life (Ebionitic humanitarianism); nor yet that of a salvation which has to do with his soul only, magically transferred to some other state (Gnostic spiritualism); it looks always to a deliverance that shall make him as a part of the present world superior to its constitutional curse, carrying him victoriously through it, and crowning him at last with immortality in his whole person, body as well as soul. The doctrine of the future state for the righteous becomes thus the doctrine of the resurrection. How full the New Testament is of this thought everywhere, it is not necessary to say.

No one can attentively consider, however, the stress which is laid by the sacred writers on this whole topic, the resurrection of Christ and as flowing from that the resurrection of believers, without being made painfully sensible of a serious aberration from this evangelical peculiarity in much of what claims to be the most evangelical style of religious thinking at the present time.

In the Acts of the Apostles, it is remarkable how the whole idea of preaching with St. Peter first and afterwards with St. Paul, seems to revolve continually around the same theme. On all occasions it is the great fact of Christ's resurrection from the dead which is insisted upon, not as a proof merely that the Gospel in some other form is entitled to credit, but as being in reality the sum and substance of the Gospel itself—the whole power of which stands in the consequent glorification of Christ, and the mission of the Holy Ghost making it effectual for the salvation of men through the Church.—Not only at Athens, but in all places, it might be said of Paul emphatically, that he “preached Jesus and the resurrection.” So in all the New Testament Epistles. The burden of their teaching throughout is Christ crucified and raised again from the dead, the hope and power of a

like resurrection in due course of time for all his people. Let it suffice for the present to quote that trumpet toned passage, Eph. 1: 17-23, as an epitome of the universal gospel in *their* sense. "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him. The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe; according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places—far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come: and hath put all things under his feet and gave him to be the head over all things to the Church—which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all."

Who will say that either the resurrection of Christ, or the resurrection of believers, is made to be of the same central interest in the Protestant Christian teaching generally of the present time? With a large part of our pulpits the theme rarely comes into full view at all; and when it does receive attention it is too often in such a way as virtually to kill it by making no account of its proper relations and connections. The truth is, the evangelical theory which rules very much of what is now regarded as Christian teaching would seem to be essentially complete in its own way, both christologically and soteriologically, without either the resurrection of Christ or the resurrection of believers.

III. The system of agencies and powers by which the kingdom of heaven is upheld and carried forward in the present world, in its course of preparation for the world to come, is supernatural, and can be properly apprehended only by the power of faith.

It is not magical—an economy of unearthly forces playing over into the world in a ghost-like visionary way. As

the manifestation of Christ himself in the flesh was real, and not simply apparitional as pretended by the Gnostics, so is the constitution of grace also proceeding from his person and work, in its relations to those who are still in the flesh, an earthly constitution. It belongs to the present world, and reveals itself historically under worldly forms and relations. With all this, however, it is a constitution which derives its whole being and force from the resurrection and glorification of Christ. It is brought to pass, and made to be of effect, not through any power that is comprehended in the natural organization of the world, but only through that higher power in Christ's person, in virtue of which he transcended at last the entire constitution of nature, and became head over all things to the church in another order of existence. The very conception of the church, in this view, is that of a spiritual organization in the world, proceeding from the resurrection life of Christ, which while it is in the world is yet not of the world, but the result and presence always of powers and forces which in relation to it are supernatural.

The kingdom of Christ among men is something widely different thus from any other moral or spiritual dominion. Take for example, the authority of Aristotle, which ruled the world of mind through so many centuries. It stands forth as a grand fact in human history, worthy of more admiration than the outward empire of Alexander. But who thinks of ascribing to it, for this reason, any super-human character. The kingdom of Aristotle was after all part and parcel only of the world's natural life, as it culminates in human intelligence—a true and genuine product, historically, of the powers of humanity in its present mundane state, just as much as the victories of Alexander or the wars of Julius Cesar. But we have no right to conceive of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, under its earthly character, in the same way. It is *not* the product of any forces that are comprehended in the natural constitution of the world; and by no such powers can it be maintained, or carried forward, in the exercise of its legitimate functions,

to its heaven appointed end. It starts from the glorification of Christ; it is the form and manner in which the glorified Christ reveals his presence, and puts forth his power, in the world for purposes and ends that lie beyond the world altogether in his own state and condition of glory. How is it possible then to conceive of it all, if it be not considered a supernatural constitution, carrying in itself supernatural resources, fulfilling supernatural offices, and bringing to pass supernatural results?

Thus it is that the Church is made to be an article of *faith*—one of the primary fundamental articles—in the Creed. Faith in the Church, however, cannot stop with its abstract conception. It must extend to its agencies and powers, its modes and means of grace generally. These may not be estimated by any merely natural standard. We are bound to own in them a supernatural efficacy and force. The word of God is quick and powerful, in a way that transcends all human rhetoric or logic. The sense of the sacraments is not to be plumbed and sounded by any mere natural reason; baptism is supernaturally more than the washing of water, and the Lord's Supper is supernaturally more than the eating of bread and the drinking of wine. The ministry of reconciliation, as it comes by commission from the risen Saviour, and forms part of his ascension gift, includes in it also some portion of his resurrection authority and ascension power. Ecclesiastical acts are not of one order simply with civil acts—they bind and loose, we are told, in heaven. These are hard "sayings," we know, for the common thinking of the world; but it is not easy to see how they can be successfully gainsaid, if we are to admit at all the idea of a constitution of grace on earth, differing from the constitution of nature, and flowing from the glorification of the Saviour regarded as an abiding fact. To make the Church of one order after all with the powers and possibilities of the present world, is to turn the resurrection of Jesus Christ into a Gnostic myth.

J. W. N.

ART. II.—THE EARLY INTRODUCTION OF CATECHIZATION IN THE
REFORMED CHURCH.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER KOECHER, a little more than a century ago, wrote a Catechetical History of the Reformed Church, down to his time. About the beginning of the present century HENRY VAN ALPEN published "The History and Literature of the Heidelberg Catechism," in which is included much catechetical history relating to the Reformed Church. Down to 1750 he depends chiefly on Koecher, but from other sources he ably brings the history down to the beginning of the present century. There is also much valuable matter pertaining to this subject contained in Max Goebel's History of the Christian Life in the Rhine-Westphalian Evangelical Churches, Coblenz, 1849. These works are all in German. There is also considerable of valuable catechetical history contained in the Introductions to many of the older commentaries on the Heidelberg Catechism. Drawing freely, in some parts almost literally translating from these sources, we have arranged, combined, and from various less important sources filled out and complemented, a sketch of the introduction of catechization in all the Provincial Reformed Churches.

As the Reformed Church of Switzerland produced the first Reformed Catechism, so to it belongs also the honor of taking the lead in introducing the catechetical system into the Reformed Church generally. Soon after the Reformation the Swiss began, not only to instruct in this way the youth, but also those of an advanced age who were found ignorant of the fundamentals of the Christian religion; and for the attainment of this end they introduced the most excellent catechetical arrangements. The French Reformed followed the example of the Swiss; and soon Germany, especially the Palatinate, became alive to this interest.

As early as 1527, it was ordained in St. Gall that, instead of the Sabbath Vesper, the Catechism should be explained every Sunday afternoon at three o'clock. At the Synod of Bern, 1532, the following decision was made in relation to catechization: "The youth shall be taught to love and fear God through Jesus Christ; and this shall be done not only by bringing before them passages of Scripture, but the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, on which already several little books have been written, shall be explained to them." So also the following year the civil government of Bern came to the assistance of the ministry, and published an ordinance that the pastors and teachers, on every Sunday and holy-day in the afternoon shall instruct the children in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, exhorting them to discharge the duties of their office, having in view that they shall one day answer to God. This ordinance was renewed in 1536, when it was also made the duty of parents, without fail, to send their children to catechetical instruction from their seventh to their fourteenth year.

In the same year the first confession of faith of the Swiss Church was prepared at Basel, in which, among other directions given to the ministers, the duty of giving catechetical instruction was expressly included. Among other things on this subject it is said: Of old the Lord enjoined upon his people, to exercise the greatest care in the instruction of the young from their tenderest years, and in His law He has expressly commanded that they shall be taught, and that the mysteries of religion shall be unfolded to them. We know from the Gospels and apostolical epistles that God in the new covenant manifests no less concern for the youth, since He has expressly said: Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God; therefore those pastors act most wisely who early and diligently catechise the youth, early lay the foundation of the faith in their minds, teaching them the first principles of our religion, explaining to them the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the design of the Sacraments, besides the other principal matters per-

taining to religion. The Church will show its faithfulness and diligence in holding the children closely to the Catechism, and will desire to have its children instructed, and rejoice when this is faithfully done.

As early as about the year 1544 instruction in the Catechism every Saturday was introduced in Zurich by Otto Werdmüller, and later it was also held on every fourth Sunday. It was held in the church of Zurich, and also in the country, and was largely attended by the people of all ages and stations. John Conrad Ulmer, pastor in Schaffhausen at this time, also did much for the cause of catechization. He required the scholars to repeat the questions publicly in the convent church; with the consent of his associates he also made arrangements according to which the Catechism was explained every Sunday in the afternoon sermon.

Ludwig Lavater describes to us the manner in which catechetical instruction was carried forward in Switzerland: Every Saturday afternoon at three o'clock the catechist takes the children from all the schools—the Latin and the German—into the principal church, where he instructs them in the main points of religion; the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Sacraments. When they have somewhat progressed in the Catechism he requires the children, a list of whose names he has from the teachers, publicly in the church before a large assembly of people, to repeat what he has explained to them, and practices them in answering the questions, and at the same time exhorts them in regard to what they have learned.

The Swiss delegates to the Synod of Dort related the following in reference to catechetical instruction in their country. "On Sunday in towns there is more than one sermon delivered, of which one is catechetical. The Catechism is gone over once every year, in order that by means of repetition it may be more deeply impressed on the mind. All those who have either been dismissed from the schools or who cannot attend, such as male and female servants,

are required to attend the Sunday catechetical sermons. On Saturday evening of each week a catechetical sermon is delivered, which is for the benefit of pupils of both sexes. In these sermons the catechist sometimes presents merely principal points in religion, as the Ten Commandments, the Christian Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; and at other times he explains the questions in the Catechism. Both he does in simple and comprehensive language; and on certain Sundays he examines publicly as well what attention has been paid by the hearers, as the progress and growth of the children in religious knowledge. In cases where a minister has to preach in two or even three villages, he alternates in his Sunday catechetical sermons. In several places where the people on account of the distance are not able to attend both Sunday sermons, only one, and that a short one, is delivered; and when that is ended, the congregations remaining together, the Pastor assembles those who teach the Catechism, examines them by questions, and tells them what further to teach. Nor does he merely look with all diligence after the youth, but also cares for persons of all ages, whence it also occurs that aged persons also derive not a little benefit from these instructions. Registers are also kept in which are recorded not only the names of the persons attending, but their age and their progress in the knowledge of the truth is also indicated. The industry which some manifest is stimulated by public praise, and at times also by little rewards; and the tardiness of others is met partly by reproofs and partly also by civil interferences. In towns as well as in the country there are schools in which the young are not only instructed in reading and writing but especially also in the Catechism, in praying, and singing. When the cold in the churches seems to be injurious to children, the catechetical sermons are held on Sunday in the houses. In those places where catechization has just been introduced, in order the better to bring the peasantry to obedience, the fathers and mothers, as also some that are grown up, have been excused, and only young people, by way of commence-

ment, have been instructed in the Catechism, until in time something more general can be accomplished. In order that the desire to learn may be the more awakened and sustained, all those who desire to enter the state of matrimony, are required to appear before the pastor, and sustain an examination as to their knowledge in the matters of religion. It is then left to the pastor to grant their request, or to defer their marriage a certain time, in which they may be able to make up for any deficiency which could not exist without injury to their faith and morals. No young persons are admitted to the holy communion till they have been examined, and it is found that they understand this holy mystery. So also no one is permitted to be sponsor at a baptism, if he has not before given satisfactory evidence that he possesses the necessary knowledge of this mystery and knows the duties of a sponsor. Finally, it belongs to the official duty of pastors diligently to visit the schools, and by their presence as well to stimulate the industry of the teachers, as also to encourage and quicken the love of knowledge in the youth."

Hottinger, who wrote the catechetical history of his fatherland at length, says: "In our time catechetical instruction is much honored and practiced in our Swiss churches. It is carried forward in a three or fourfold way. Such as are yet very ignorant are required first to learn several very easy dialogues concerning the doctrines of the Christian faith, which are called the small questions. Then follows the small Catechism, which consists only of the principal explanations of catechetical truths; and after this comes the large Catechism, yet only the language in it is learned. Lastly the whole course of catechetical instruction is concluded by an analysis of this large Catechism, with the confirmation of each point by proof texts from the holy Scriptures.

In a country where such zeal for the catechetical system prevailed the excellences of the Heidelberg Catechism could not be long unknown. It was in fact held in the highest esteem from the first; and though other Catechisms, as we have seen, had been in use, and the work of catechizing

bound up by these, yet it was soon partially introduced, and gaining prominence more and more over others it soon became "invested with a kind of universal authority, as a bond of religious profession for the land in general."* Bullinger, the friend and successor of Zwingli, praised it with the greatest enthusiasm, and in 1565, at the request of Frederick III. wrote a defence of it in reply to attacks made on it by its enemies. This served to make it known, and called attention to its merits in Switzerland. The Swiss divines saw with pleasure that the tone of its teachings accorded with the spirit of the views of religious truth which had been current among them, and the laity were charmed with its practical and devotional spirit. In St. Gall, says Van Alpen, it was introduced into schools and churches. The best evidence that its authority was prevailing over all others is found in the fact that the Catechism of Zurich was reconstructed and improved with a view of making it conform to the Heidelberg Catechism. At the great Synod of Dort, 1618-1619 the deputies from the Swiss Reformed cantons adopted it as a symbolical book. Various editions of it appeared at St. Gall, Zurich, Basel, and Berne, and many learned men wrote explanations of it. Gradually it was brought into practice or exclusive use throughout all the Reformed cantons, and continues to enjoy that honor to the present day.

Catechetical instruction was introduced into France from the example of Switzerland, and was practiced in the French Reformed Church with great zeal and diligence. From the year 1563 forward during an entire century the matter was before every synodical assembly where counsel was held in regard to arrangements and improvements, and many ordinances passed in regard to catechization. At the Synod of Lyons, 1563, the question was raised, whether the children under ten years of age should be permitted to answer the catechetical questions. The conclusion on this point was, that each consistory be left to decide this

* History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism. By Dr. Nevin. p. 87.

matter for itself. The Synod of St. Foi, 1578, reminded all churches of their duty diligently to hold catechization, and exhorted the pastors and church officers thoroughly to explain and teach the catechism by simple and easy questions and answers, in which they should accommodate themselves to the capacity and ignorance of the people, and not to indulge in any discussions of theological doctrines. Those churches in which catechetical instructions were not diligently carried on, were exhorted to introduce them and to observe them strictly.

At the Synod of Vitre 1583, the question was discussed whether Calvin's catechism should be continued in use, or whether a smaller one, consisting merely of the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, should be taken as the guide in these instructions. In the year 1594, at the Synod of Montalban, it was ordained that the catechism of Calvin should be adhered to, and that no Pastor or teacher should be allowed to use any other; the general catechetical instructions, however, which are held regularly before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, should without exceptions serve for the instruction of all the people according to the regulations on this point which each church should find most convenient and profitable to this end. The Synod of Salmor, 1596, of Montpellier 1568, and of Gap 1603, confirmed the use of Calvin's catechism, without the least change, deprecating all innovations in regard to this point. The Assembly, or Synod of the French Reformed ministers which was again held in Vitre 1617, enjoined the diligent use of the catechism in the churches, but left the mode of explanation by questions and answers to the freedom of the consistories, as being best acquainted with the capacities of the children. At the Synod of Alais 1620, and of Charenton 1623, the observance of the twelfth—according to the new edition of the Book of church discipline the thirteenth—canon was most strictly enjoined. It runs thus: "The churches are instructed to make very frequent use of the catechism, and the ministers are enjoined, by simple, definite, and plain questions and answers

to unfold and explain it—to adapt themselves to the ignorance and rudeness of the people without indulging in lengthy discussions on common points. This distinctly is the duty of the ministers, to catechize, each in his own congregation.”

At the Synod of Charenton, 1644, a resolution was passed that on Sunday in the large churches, sermons should be preached on the catechism and the matter therein contained as also on other theological points; but this should not in the least be allowed to set aside the ordinance concerning the catechetical instruction in questions and answers; and in case it should not be possible to instruct the children in the catechism every Sunday, special days in the week should be selected and consecrated to this holy service. For the better instruction of adults special catechizations should be held several days previous to the celebration of the holy communion. It was made the duty of the provincial Synods to see to it that this practice be most strictly observed in all the churches under their care, in regard to which they were to be called to account before the national Synod. This wholesome regulation was approved, re-enjoined and confirmed at the Synods of Loudun, 1659 and 1660—directing additionally that in those churches in which two services were held on Sunday, the second sermon should be devoted to the explanation of the catechism; that in the towns and churches where more than one sermon was preached each day of the week, one or two of these sermons should be explanatory of the catechism; and finally that in the very large churches which are divided into different sections a special teacher or catechist should be appointed for each division of the town or country, or at least a suitable Elder should be selected and placed over each of those sub-divisions of the congregation to catechize the young. So zealously did the Reformed Church of France provide for the catechetical instruction of the young. No wonder that a people so early and so carefully indoctrinated were so firm and constant in their adherence to their faith, ready for the flames or for banishment—to both which trials they were afterwards subjected, and in which

they acquitted themselves heroically, maintaining their faith with a true martyr courage, and crowning their memory with a true martyr glory.

The churches of the Netherlands, as early as 1568, at the Synod of Wesel ordained that the Heidelberg Catechism should be used in churches and schools, in the instruction of the young. This however, was felt to be inadequate. The churches complained and asked for something more efficient and direct; and the experience of the ministers also taught them that something more was needed. Accordingly at the 14th Session of the celebrated Synod of Dort the matter was brought up and discussed during several subsequent sessions. It was decided that a more familiar and particular instruction by questions and answers, as required by the true mode of catechising, was needed; and it was accordingly enjoined.

As in itself interesting, and as directly bearing upon the early introduction of catechization in the Reformed churches of Holland, we here present the reader with a translation of the action and Resolution of the National Synod at Dort in regard to a more particular catechization of old and young, passed in the seventeenth Session November 30th 1618.

The form of the Synodical resolution concerning a more particular catechization of old and young, as drawn out of, and constructed from, the written recommendations, as well of the foreign as domestic churches, which had been handed in, is as follows :

In order that the Christian youth, from their earliest and tenderest years forward, may be diligently instructed in the fundamentals of the true religion, and imbued with true piety, three ways of catechization must be observed : *In the families, by the parents : in the schools, by the school-masters : and in the Churches, by the ministers, elders, and readers or visitors of the sick.* To the end that all these may faithfully perform the duties of their office, the Christian authorities are entreated to further a work so necessary and holy by their authority. All those also to whom is

committed the oversight and visitation of the churches and schools shall be exhorted to exercise special care in regard to this point.

It is the office of parents, earnestly and industriously to instruct their children and all belonging to the household, at home, in the rudiments of the Christian religion, according to the capacity of each; earnestly and zealously to exhort them to the fear of God and sincere piety, and to accustom them to the practice of family prayers. They shall take them along to church that they may hear the word of God; they shall with them afterward diligently repeat the sermon, and especially the catechetical sermon, read several chapters of the holy Scriptures, cause them to commit to memory the most prominent passages of the sacred Scriptures; they shall explain the same in a plain manner suited to the capacities of tender youth and seek to impress them upon their hearts, and thus to prepare them for catechization in the schools; and when they begin to receive instruction in the school to encourage, confirm, and labor to advance them according to their ability. The parents shall be earnestly exhorted to the performance of this duty publicly by the ministers, and also privately, as well at the ordinary visitations before the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as at other suitable times by the ministers, elders, and deacons. Since some parents who confess the Christian Reformed religion are found neglecting this holy work they shall be brought to their duties by solemn reproof from the minister, and if the case requires it, by the censures of the consistory.

Schools, in which the growing youth are suitably instructed in piety and the first principles of Christian doctrine shall be established, not only in towns but also in all the villages, where hitherto none have existed. The Christian authorities shall be requested everywhere to provide the school-masters with adequate salaries, in order that men of suitable qualifications may be secured, and they may be encouraged to give proper diligence to this work. But especially that the children of the poor may be in-

structed gratis, and not to be excluded from the benefits of the schools.

In the service of these schools no one shall be employed unless he is a member of the Reformed church, has testimonials of the correctness of his faith and the piety of his life, and is well exercised in the teachings of the catechism. He shall also subscribe his name to the confession and acknowledge the catechism of the Netherlands, and by a holy vow engage that he will according to this order earnestly catechize and instruct the youth entrusted to him in the fundamentals of the Christian religion.

It shall be the duty of these school-masters, to practice all their scholars, at least two days in each week, according to their age and understanding, not only in committing the catechism to memory, but also in endeavoring to make them understand its principal parts. To this end three forms and modes of the catechism, adapted to three conditions of the young, shall be used and pursued.

The first shall be for the children : comprehending the Articles of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Institution of the Sacraments, the part pertaining to church discipline, together with some short prayers, and simple questions based on the three parts of the Catechism ; to this may be added some of the most prominent passages of the holy Scripture for edification in godliness.

The second shall be a brief synopsis of the Palatinate* Catechism, which is used in our churches. In this the instruction of those who have made a beginning in the other mode shall be carried forward. These two formularies shall be according to the example of the Palatinate churches, or the church of Middleburg, or after the manner prescribed by this Synod.

The third shall be the use of the Palatinate Catechism, adopted by our churches, in which those shall be instructed who are farther advanced in knowledge and years. The French churches in the Netherlands which have hitherto used the Genevean Catechism may retain it in those

* The Heidelberg Catechism was then so called.

churches and schools. But no other formula shall be used by the school-masters, in the schools. The authorities shall be entreated by their supervision to exclude all papal Catechisms, and other books containing error and impurity from the schools. The school-masters shall exercise care that the scholars not only commit these formularies to memory but that they also pretty well understand the teachings therein contained. To this end they shall plainly explain the same in a way suited to each one's capacity, diligently and often question them and repeat the explanations, to see whether they have comprehended the true sense. The school-masters, each and all, shall bring the scholars entrusted to them, to hear the holy sermon, and especially the catechetical sermons, and diligently examine them in regard to the substance of them.

In order that the diligence of the school-masters and the improvement of the scholars may be known, it shall be the duty of the minister with an elder, and if it is necessary, with several of the magistrates, frequently to visit the schools, to encourage the school master, show him how to catechize, by their example, publicly and privately instruct and impress the youth, in a friendly way, stimulate them, by asking them questions, and by praise and small rewards for diligence, together with exhortations to piety, incite them, in the presence of the magistrate, to new diligence and godliness.

The school-masters, since some of them are found negligent or stubborn shall be earnestly exhorted by the ministers in regard to the duties of their office, and if it is necessary by the consistory. In case they do not heed such exhortations, resort shall be had to the magistrates, that by their intervention they may be induced to attend to their duty, otherwise others shall be appointed to fill their place.

Finally the magistrate shall be requested to tolerate no schools in which these holy exercises in catechization are not allowed, or are avoided.

It shall be the duty of ministers to preach public catechetical sermons in the church. These shall be short, and

as far as possible so constructed, as to suit not only the adults but also the youth. Also the industry of those ministers shall be praised who employ time and opportunities to repeat these in the schools, especially in the country, not shunning the labor necessary in so good a work. In this way those who are more advanced in years, and have not enjoyed the advantages of the schools at all, or not in a sufficient degree, may be better instructed in the fundamentals of the Christian religion. For experience teaches, that the customary instructions given in the churches, as well the catechetical as others, are not adequate in the case of many, to implant in them the knowledge of the Christian religion, which ought among the people of God to prevail. The custom proves that the living voice has very great power when questions and answers are used, simple and adapted to the capacity of those to be instructed, which is the best mode of catechizing, and in this way the elements of religion are impressed upon the heart. Hence it shall belong to the office of the minister, with an elder, to visit all such as desire to learn, and either in houses or in the consistorial room, or in some other suitable place to collect together once a week, such members of the church and others, examining and instructing them in the principal parts of the Christian religion, and as opportunity shall allow to catechize them according to their capacity, progress, and ability to comprehend the truth. On such occasions the catechetical sermons shall be repeated, and all diligence shall be used that each one may come to a clear and full acquaintance with the catechism. Those who shall then desire to unite with the congregation, shall be diligently and frequently instructed in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in a certain place, during three weeks before, that in this way they may be enabled more correctly and fully to give an account of their faith.

The ministers shall be careful to invite for instruction such in whom they may see visible hope and fruit, and whom they know to be troubled in regard to the salvation of their souls. These ought then to be brought together and examined,

particularly such as are of the same understanding, that they may freely speak with one another and be mutually awakened. These meetings shall be commenced and concluded with prayer and solemn exhortations.

All this, so far as it is undertaken and observed, with delight in the work, with watchfulness, care, faithfulness, zeal and discretion as it should be by ministers who expect one day to give an account of the flock which has been entrusted to them, cannot fail in a short time, by the blessing of God, to bring forth the most abundant fruit, which shall be seen by all men as well in the progress of the faith as in holiness of life, to the honor of God and the advancement of the Christian religion in general, working favor and increase in our churches.

So far the action in regard to catechizing taken by the celebrated Synod of Dort. Subsequently particular Synods showed great care to carry out these doctrines. The subject was earnestly discussed, and action in regard to it was taken by the Synod of North Holland at Edam, 1619; at Alekmar, 1620; at Harlem, 1627; at Amsterdam, 1628. Also in 1642 it was enjoined in the Synod of Enchhusana, that as a means to prevent the progress of insidious error, "catechization should be introduced into families, schools, alms-houses, orphan-houses, and especially in the churches, as well for the young as for the old people, that error might be overturned, and the foundations of the Reformed religion firmly laid."

The Synod of South Holland, during the same time, manifested the same zeal; declaring their faith that the same results would follow a faithful prosecution of this good work. This appears from its acts at Gouda, 1620; Rotterdam, 1621; Gorinnichheim, 1722; Delft, 1628; Briel, 1633; Grafenhague, 1634. In subsequent years resolutions looking to the same end were passed by the Synods of Gelderland, Utrecht, Over Ysee, and others, from 1639 to 1649.

Petro de Welte in the introduction to his exposition of the Catechism earnestly insists that faithful catechization

is the only way in which the ignorance of the people can be removed, and they be fortified against the seducement of all kinds of errorists. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Prov. 29: 18.

The greatest number of Christians, so he speaks, for want of catechization, are in respect to their spiritual life, like those children who in their infancy fell into the hands of unfaithful and unmerciful nurses, and thus, not having received their proper nourishment, became dwarfish, and can never afterwards come to a healthy growth. For what is thus lost in the early years of growth and bloom, can never afterwards be regained, however careful the treatment may be which they receive at a later period. Those can only become strong Christians, and come to the full and perfect stature of Christ as adults, who in early life have received the sincere milk of the word that they may grow thereby. The best, and the only remedy to be laid hold of by adults who have been neglected in early life, is to humble themselves and become as little children, and thus submit themselves to the same simple and particular catechization by questions and answers, as that provided for children.

Such are in substance, the views of Teelinck, a Dutch divine, as quoted by de Wette. In another place he insists that both young and old need catechization, as the proper food of the Spirit, more than they need natural bread for the body, and the earthly life. "For it is certain that as long as they have not received simple instruction in the elements of religion, they are not in a condition to be benefitted by the regular preaching of the word in sermons, or to receive other instructions to which they must be led forward. Ignorant of the first principles of the Christian religion they cannot understand the "language of Canaan," however simple the minister may be in his sermons. They cannot receive the deeper truths of religion. "I have written to him the great truths of my law, but they were counted as a strange thing." Hos. 8: 12. He that will make the trial will find to his surprise,

that many a one called a Christian, who in other respects seems intelligent, and is diligent in his attentions to other weekly and Sabbath duties in religion, has nevertheless very little reliable knowledge in the things of Christ, but stands loose and unconfirmed on the ground of the Christian religion, ready to fall into the arms of any error that may invite him. As a person who has never learned the alphabet, cannot afterwards read right, or one who has never learned the use of tools cannot work at the trade to which they belong, so he who has not learned the elements of religion can make no progress afterwards."

Bucer, quoted by De Wette, who calls him the "excellent Bucer," says: "With other ways of instruction, the Catechism must be used in the churches with earnest labor and constant zeal. Such instruction was practiced in the synagogues, and in the early churches. It was to such instruction that our Lord Jesus Christ submitted, when in his twelfth year he remained in Jerusalem without the knowledge of his parents. After three days they found Him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors both hearing them, and asking them questions. And all that heard Him were astonished at His understanding and answers! Luke 2: 46, 47. Those whom He heard and asked questions were without doubt those teachers who catechized Him and other children. He also asked them questions, and when He was asked He answered them; and this is the true mode of catechizing. So also the early churches had at all times certain persons, who were appointed to catechize, and were on that account called catechists. Such a one was Origen in the church of Alexandria, and in other congregations, others filled a like office and duty. In this way is the doctrine of Christ publicly inculcated, wherever Christ's kingdom is firmly established."

In Germany the custom of catechization was introduced with the Reformation. We have elsewhere* given the commendatory preface from the pen of Frederick III. with

* See in this Review, January No., 1859, pp. 52-54.

which he sent out the first edition of the Heidelberg Catechism, 1563, urging with princely influence and truly pious earnestness its use in the churches and schools of the Palatinate. This pious desire of the noble prince was universally honored. From the time of its first publication to the year 1577, Ursinus explained the Catechism once every year to the students in the college at Heidelberg.

Frederick III. directed the holding of Sunday afternoon catechization. The Palatinate Theologians who attended the Synod of Dort, related that the Catechism scholars in the Palatinate were divided into three classes; namely, the boys and girls; the young men and women; the adults and aged. The first were taught in the schools; the other two were taught in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity by the pastors.

The churches of Julich, Cleve, Berg, Mark, and other German provinces participated in the Synod of Wesel, 1568, in which it was ordained that the Heidelberg Catechism should be used in religious instruction both in churches and schools. In a book of church rules framed for these churches some time previous to 1673, it is said: "The apostolic practice of catechizing shall be immediately introduced in all the churches and schools where it is not yet practiced, and carried forward with diligence, and not only the young, but also the old who are not well instructed, shall be industriously taught the fundamental parts of religion, and thus led on to the true practice of piety. Parents shall not only earnestly admonish their children and those under their care to attend on these instructions, but shall encourage their attendance by their own example; and the Pastors and Elders in their pastoral visitations, which shall be attended to at least once a year before the administration of the Lord's Supper, shall earnestly exhort them to attend to this duty."

In the book prescribing the church regulations for Hesse Cassel, the Anhalt provinces, and in all the free cities, was contained a law making it obligatory on pastors to preach on the Heidelberg Catechism, and catechize from it.—

"These catechetical regulations thus introduced were zealously maintained in the German churches. In 1721 a royal edict was sent out from Berlin that all pastors of the Reformed churches which honor the Prussian sceptre, shall explain the Heidelberg Catechism on Sunday afternoons in the same manner as is customary in the churches of Holiland.

The Reformed churches in Hungary and Siebenburg from the beginning of the Reformation in those countries introduced and carried forward the work of catechization with great zeal. There was scarcely a synodical assembly held at which some ordinance in regard to catechization was not passed. At the Synod of Goenz, 1586, it was ordained that the ministers should make themselves well acquainted with the Catechism of Calvin, and that they should explain the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer therein presented. The Synod of Herezeg-Pölös, 1576, ordained and directed that in order to restore morality among the people, regular sermons should not only be delivered on all holy festival days, but that at the same time the principal doctrines of faith should be explained to the young from the Catechism. The Synod of Waradein ordained that besides preaching, the young should be instructed at regular times from the Catechism in the public assemblies. The national Synod of Szatmar directed that all the ministers shall explain the Catechism in sermons at least every Sunday afternoon, and that in this service, besides that of Calvin, the Heidelberg Catechism shall also be used. To the same effect are the ordinances in force in the Earldoms of Borsod, Gömer and Hont, in which special attention to the instruction of the young is enjoined. In the articles for the government of the churches in upper Hungary, published in 1667, it is beautifully directed: "The Catechism must not be neglected. The young must, above all things, be well instructed in the foundations of the Christian faith, so that when they have been satisfied with the milk, they may be prepared also for the strong meat." Thus we see how diligently preaching on the Catechism,

and instructing the young from it, was carried on in the Reformed churches of Hungary.

In the great work of catechization the Church in England followed the example of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and readily adopted suggestions from the continental reformers, for the improvement of the system of catechizing among them. "By the first Book of Edward VI." says Wheatly, "it was not required to be done above *once in six weeks*. But Bucer, observing that this was too seldom, and that in several churches in Germany there was catechising three times a week, urged, in his censure upon this rubric, that the Minister should be required to catechize on every holy-day (Sunday). Upon this exception indeed the rubric was altered, but expressed notwithstanding in indefinite terms."*

The Catechism, ascribed to Thomas Cranmer, and by others to D. Joannes Poinetus, was published by order of Edward VI. in 1553. The King accompanies it with a preface, or commendatory introduction, addressed to school teachers, in which he directs that "all Teachers shall use it in their instructions to the end that they may lay the foundations of religion and knowledge in the young and the ignorant—that they may wisely learn piety and have a guide for their lives, knowing what is to be thought of God who gives us all the good things of this life, and how he is to be thanked for them, toward which all our acts and duties must be directed. Accordingly, by the authority reposed in us, we direct, on severe penalty, that this Catechism shall be diligently used in the schools, that the ten-

* This was not the only reform which Bucer was the means of introducing in the English Church. "In King Edward's first Common Prayer Book, those only were to be sent, (to the minister to be catechized) *who were not yet confirmed*. But because many were then confirmed young, at least before they could understand their catechism, though they might repeat the words of it, Bucer desired that they might still be catechized, till the Curate should think them sufficiently instructed; upon which motion the words were somewhat altered in the next review." *Wheatly's Rational Illustrations of the Book of Common Prayer*. London. 1852. p. 376.

der youth by this view of the law and mode of true religion, may be strengthened, and have all encouragement to honor God and fulfill their duties. Herein instructed they will show piety toward God, the Creator of us all, obedience toward the King the Shepherd of the people, zeal for the good of the Church, the Mother of us all; and thus live not merely for themselves, but for God, the King, and the fatherland. Given at Greenwich the 20th of May, in the seventh year of our reign."*

In regard to the catechizing in the English Episcopal Church in modern times, Wheatly says: "The times now appointed for catechizing of children are Sundays and holy-days. Though bishop Cosni observes, this is no injunction for doing it every Sunday and holy-day, but only as often as need requires, according to the largeness or number of children in the parish. In many large parishes, where the inhabitants are numerous, the minister makes himself obliged to catechise every Sunday; whilst in parishes less populous, a few Sundays in the year are sufficient to the purpose." Here there seems to be an abatement of the old faithfulness and zeal. The disposition to make the rubric mean as little as possible, betrays the power of the modern tendency to undervalue this excellent custom, which is the sure way to its gradual neglect and final entire omission. After thus interpreting the rubric in a way which one can hardly help regarding as an accommodation to modern laxness, we need not be surprised that he adds: "But now how to reconcile the fifty-ninth canon to this exposition of the rubric I own I am at a loss: for that requires every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, *upon every Sunday and holy-day*, to teach and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish in the Catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer; and this too upon pain of a sharp reproof upon the first complaint, of suspension upon the second, and of excommunication till he be reformed

* Not having the original, we have translated this passage from the German.

upon the third." Evidently the two cannot be reconciled. The canon is in agreement with the ancient good way, and the exposition of the rubric is in the modern spirit of significant and dangerous defection.

In like manner as the Episcopal Church, did also the Presbyterian Church of England and Scotland, early introduce catechisms and catechizations, after the manner of the original Reformed Churches of the Continent. The Synod of Glasgow in 1638 insisted very strongly on catechization, and ordained that each year at least one Visitation of all the congregations should be had; and that on such occasions the Visitors should carefully inquire how religious worship is practiced in each individual family, and with what diligence the catechization of the young, especially in the country churches, had been attended to.

In our country, at a period still within the recollection of the oldest living Pastors, catechization was generally practiced in the Presbyterian churches. The Rev. Ashbel Green, D. D., in the Preface to his "*Lectures on the Shorter Catechism*," touchingly says: "While memory remains, the interesting scenes will never be obliterated from the author's mind, in which he had before him the children of his congregation—from the age of three to four years, to that of ten or twelve. They were counseled, and admonished, and prayed with, in language the most simple, plain, and tender that could be devised; and never did the speaker find the difficulty so great in addressing any other audience, or in leading any other devotions, as in performing these duties for the lambs of his flock; in adapting his thoughts and language to their capacities, and becoming their mouth to God. They were all taught some little forms of devotion suited to their several ages. Some of the youngest learned the *Mother's Catechism*; but, eventually, they all committed to memory that on which these *Lectures* composing the present volume are founded. The children were divided into classes, according to the progress they had made; from those who had learned but

four or five answers of the Catechism, to those who could accurately repeat the whole. Of this last description of learners, a Bible class was formed,* which met weekly in the Pastor's study. The exercises of this class were introduced by an examination on the Catechism, which they were required to repeat throughout; to this succeeded the recitation of their Bible lesson, accompanied by explanations from the Pastor, and the answering of such questions as any member of the class was disposed to propose to him. A short address and a prayer closed the whole."

All this, which was common to the pastors of Dr. Green's time, now sounds "like the voice of years gone by, pleasant and mournful to the soul!" Though the custom described by this venerable divine is all familiar to those who stand in the practice of the catechetical system of the German Reformed Church, and though it is pleasant to the ear to hear the young, thus instructed, in the same Preface, called "catechumens," yet it is at the same time painfully apparent that the idea of catechizing that lay in Dr. Green's mind was widely different from its true original character. At the close of the paragraph just quoted, we would naturally expect him to say that these instructions looked directly forward to the full initiation of the catechumen into the Church, that they were led to expect this, and that this end was reached as a matter of course. But instead of this, it is evident that these catechetical exercises looked in that direction only in the same way as do the instructions of any Bible class or Sunday school. We are immediately and painfully reminded that this was something radically different from the old idea of catechization, by the words which follow the extract made: "The Catechumens thus instructed, soon, of course,"—became full members of the Church? no; though that too may have been so; but it evidently is not in the author's

* This was about eight and thirty years ago. Soon after the year 1800 consequently.

mind, as the end to be looked for directly, and as the proper end of this catechization—"soon, of course, reached the years of maturity, finished their education which, in many instances, was of a liberal kind, and were preparing to enter on business for themselves, and to become heads of families." This catechization was after all a training of the children with the hope only that it *might* lead them to the Lord, instead of the true idea of catechetical, educational religion, which recognizes baptized children as standing in the grace of the covenant, and aims, by a firm faith in that covenant, to awaken in them the consciousness of their vantage ground as standing in the covenant of grace, and thus to train them "*in* (not merely *into*) the nurture and admonition of the Lord"—to train them *in* grace, wherein they stand, as the only true mode of training them *into* it more and more.

The catechetical system of the Lutheran Church, similar to that in the Reformed, has an equally interesting history; but its treatment does not fall within the scope of our present purpose. This is the less necessary, as its history is so much like that we have herein portrayed. The system was early introduced, and has been faithfully continued in the Lutheran churches of Europe. From the beginning, it has been practiced in the American churches, and is, we believe, at this day growing in honor in that communion.

The system of catechetical instruction legitimate in the Reformed Church in the Fatherland, was of course introduced in this country with the founding of the American branch of this Church. It has been practiced from the beginning in families, parochial schools, and in Pastoral catechetical classes. Formerly also, as in Europe, in many congregations on Sunday afternoon in the Church. The practice has, of course, varied somewhat at different periods, as to the diligence and efficiency with which it has been plied, but it has always been a prominent feature in all the pastoral operations of the Church. Instead of any

abatement of zeal or loss of confidence in the system, it has, during the last fifteen or twenty years, more than ever occupied the attention of synods, classes, consistories, pastors, and parents. Much has thus been done to advance its efficiency; and many minds are even now turned, with great earnestness and hope, towards securing for its practical use a still higher degree of perfection.

H. H.

St. John's church, Lebanon, Pa.

ART. III.—THE ANTIPODES, OR THE WORLD REVERSED.*

In greeting you on your return, young gentlemen, while wishing you (for it is not yet too late,) a happy new year, we likewise trust that you have enjoyed a merry Christmas. To shew the genuine humanity and sterling warm-heartedness of Lucius Licinius Crassus it is recorded of him that, notwithstanding it was at a time when the Roman Republic was in a deplorable condition, looking towards revolution and civil war, and though he was its firm supporter and defender, yet during the Roman Games, in the month of September, he still found sufficient time, with a few of his choice companions, to betake himself out to his charming villa, a short distance from Rome, and there enjoy with them the jollities of the season. Not that he sought in this way to ignore the coming ills and in a fit of heartless despair to drown his cares in reckless dissipation. Indeed so far was he from shirking the dangers on the occasion that, during the first day of his retreat, assembled with his friends, he looked them steadily in the face and probed their secret causes and ascertained the bearings of these, which brought him to the sad conclusion, it is true, that there was for them no possible remedy, and that of his country the future misfortunes were irrevocably fixed; of which the gloomy prospect they all deeply deplored. Towards the close, however, of the same day, when reclined at the feast, and here we observe his true humanity, dashing aside all his sadness and despondency, he indulged in so rich a vein of humor and threw off in his table-talk such flashes of wit that he kept the board continually in a roar; and more than that, during all the days that these worthy men of consular dignity remained afterwards at the

* An address before the students of Franklin and Marshall College at the opening of the winter session, January 8th, 1861.

villa, casting politics and state affairs to the winds, they discoursed among themselves only on such pleasing topics as rhetoric or the fine arts; which rare conversation of theirs, thanks to the care of our good friend Marcus Tullius Cicero, in his excellent treatise *De Oratore*, we have still the pleasure of perusing, as forming a delicious part of our light reading during the junior year. After the same manner, my young friends, though I feel sure that you are not, and have not been, regardless of the distressed condition of our gallant ship of State, whose safety is our own, and unobservant of the perilous reefs towards which she seems to be drifting, still I trust that, during the late Christmas holidays, without shewing any recklessness, of course, you have yet been enabled, all cares aside, as a strengthening for the future, to enter unreservedly into their full enjoyment. For my own part, pleased am I to inform you, that, in carrying out this humane philosophy, during our short separation, I have succeeded to my own full satisfaction and I trust also to that of all my entertaining friends. Indeed even now, though since those happy days a solemn fast has intervened, I am constrained to own to you that I feel not yet fully settled down and composed into my proper equanimity and staid sobriety and decorum; and though in my address I have taken especial care to fortify all its parts with the soundest arguments leading to the fairest conclusions, yet as it was composed during the festive days, with all my care, I fear there will still be shewing themselves out of it many quaint oddities and antic whimsicalities and free and easy notions which belong properly only to Christmas times, and are certainly altogether out of place on any such grave occasion as that on which we are called together this morning. Just as in Merry Old England, in earlier times, when Christmas gambols were celebrated a great deal more roisterly than they are at present, on the following days, though the staid burgher might resume his former, regular, every day employment, yet by the saucy set of his cap, or the careless hang of his hose and doublet, or the sly twinkling of his

eye, or the lurking smile around his mouth, it was easily to be seen that his wits were a wool-gathering, as they say, and that, with all his assumed gravity and resumption of business, his head was still running on other matters ; in short, that he was ruminating all the while, in sweet recall, upon all those mad carryings on in which he had been participating, the days before, to their full extent, as allowed, without restraint, under the indulgent supervision and encouragement of that rollicking conductor of the revels, the bishop of Unreason or Misrule.

Belonging to the Old English drama, still preserved in choice libraries, is a curious old comedy called the *Antipodes*, written by one Richard Brome, who had been in his day some sort of a serving man to "rare Ben Jonson." The humor of the thing consists in its shewing off persons and scenes in inverted positions and conditions. The world is turned upside down. Of men and women the occupations are interchanged, and all the customary rights and immunities belonging to persons of higher ranks or of more advanced ages are there assumed and enjoyed by those of lower grades or of fewer years. Servants, for instance, are represented as lording it over their masters, wives over their husbands, and, best of all, young men, affectionate sons, as sending old men, their respectful fathers or grand-fathers, to school.

Such a state of society as this would indicate, although, no doubt, it has often been devoutly wished for by many ambitious servants, imperious matrons and aspiring young men in all ages, is one, however, which we know has never yet been fully realized, or, at any rate, no where upon this lower earth. It is only imagined by the dramatist. Still, we regard it as being not wholly impossible to take place. In some happy country, in the advancement of civilization, the transactions represented in this play may possibly be enjoyed in real life. Brought about indeed we know they could not well be in Old England, or, in fact, in any of the European or Asiatic countries. We make no mention of Africa, as with her interior regions we are not yet fully made

acquainted. Too much in the old world under the restraint of old laws and customs, of established rites and ceremonies, are the people held ever to become so completely emancipated on the one hand and subjugated on the other, so utterly overturned in all their social and domestic relations, as the bringing about of this regenerated state of affairs would require. Brought up among their old castles, old abbies, old ruins, and indeed old structures of every sort, they have instilled into them from these a sort of crouching reverence also for all old folks, male or female, wherever met with, and for all persons in authority; and besides they are held down by the quaintest old maxims and the stiffest old notions. Any innovations attempted upon these they meet with the bitterest scorn and the stoutest resistance, and, if persevered in, they have not unfrequently put the introducers of them to death. Take, for instance, the case of the moon, respecting which, in some parts of the Emerald Isle and of the Land o' Cakes, among the common people it is still the prevailing opinion that it is made of green cheese, or some other material equally evanescent, which is used up regularly every month and renewed the next; and though, in disabusing the minds of some of them of this heterodox creed, some of our modern innovators have succeeded, yet others, in attempting to set others of them right on the subject, have been made to suffer martyrdom, as we have it thus recorded by one of their own poets:

In these auld times they thought the moon,
Just like a sark, or pair o' shoon,
Wore by degrees, till her last roon
Gaed past their viewing,
And shortly after she was done,
They gat a new one.

This pass'd for certain, undisputed;
It ne'er cam' i' their heads to doubt it,
Till chiefls gat up an' wad confute it,
And ca'd it wrang;
An' muckle din there was about it,
Baith loud and lang.

Some herds, weel learned upo' the beuk,
Wad threap auld folk the thing misteuk ;
For 'twas the auld moon turned a neuk,
An' out o' sight,
An' backlins comin' to the leuk,
She grew mair bright.

This was deny'd, it was affirm'd ;
The herds and hissels were alarmed ;
The rev'rend gray-beards raved and stormed,
That beardless laddies
Should think they better were informed
Than their auld daddies.

Frae less to mair it gaed to sticks ;
Frae words and aiths to clours an' nicks ;
And monie a fallow gat his licks,
Wi' hearty crunt ;
And some, to learn them for their tricks,
Were hanged and brunt.

If the people of the Old World are thus so religiously jealous concerning the honor of the moon which rides so far above their heads, how great must be their indignation at any innovations attempted on the established order of their own domestic and social relations down upon the earth ! Many excellent reforms and advances towards freedom, in the course of ages, we are aware, have been commenced by some nations of Europe and carried out by a few, but with all these, so controlled are they still by their ruling forms and habits, their fixed principles and their old prejudices, that we really think it impossible for the people of any of them ever to become so entirely released from all these drawbacks, so thoroughly revolutionized in all their manners and customs and feelings, as to attain to that charming state of society suited for the enactment of such scenes as those presented in this play : servants lord-ing it, as they please, over their old masters, ladies assuming the high offices of their lords, and young masters enjoying the supreme felicity of sending their old governors to school.

If such transactions are to be realized hereafter any-

where in any civilized country we fancy it is to be nowhere else than somewhere in our own happy America. Here, as all the world knows, we are enjoying the highest state of freedom and equality, and we are the least restrained by old fashioned things and institutions. True, slavery does exist in our Government to some extent, but then, being restricted wholly to certain States, instead of beclouding the bright ideas of liberty and independence which are entertained in other parts of the Union, it acts rather as a foil and sets them off to a fairer advantage. Without this institution in the South never would we have had, by way of opposition to it, in the North and West, any such wholesale liberal sentiments as we have. Indeed just in proportion to the depression of the poor African in the Southern States has always been his elevation in some parts of the North and West. We know of some places where the feeling for him is so warm that he has gone up in common estimation not only to the temperate heat of equality but several degrees above it, being considered by his admirers as belonging to a superior race. Of this persuasion we had a pleasing instance in the remarks of a distinguished lecturer from New York before a convention of abolitionists held lately at Kennet Square in Chester county of this State. To let it be known how devoid he was of any prejudice against the ebon color, which some persons unaccountably entertain, he declared that he had often sat, very comfortably, with those of his friends who bore it, at the same dinner table, and sometimes, in cases of emergency, he had even shared with some of them the same couch. Hereupon, however, was the ire of another brother present, black or white we do not know, greatly excited, because by boasting of such things, he said, the speaker seemed to him to insinuate that the partaking of these hospitalities had been, on his part, a condescension, a lowering of himself to another level, thus casting on the whole colored population a base reflection, as if they were of an inferior race. Our orator, however, immediately springing up again, disclaimed any such intention, assuring the honorable gentleman

who had doubted his zeal, that on such occasions instead of thinking that he was conferring favors or acts of condescension he had rather felt that he was himself the receiver of them, as indeed he would always deem it the highest privilege and honor that could well be granted him, to be allowed occasionally, seated with them at the same table or reclined with them on the same couch, to enjoy the pleasant society and sweet converse of any of his colored brethren. A pleasing indication surely of a decided tendency in our times towards the turning of this western world of ours completely upside down.

In many of the western and middle States the name and office of servant is almost entirely unknown. Some of our free citizens, it is true, being suitably remunerated, consent to oversee the gardens or take charge of the horses and carriages of other freemen in better circumstances; but this, of course, detracts nothing whatever from their equal rights. Lest any such thing should be suspected by any one, it is always made a point, by these independent persons, to hold up their heads with the best, and, above all, never to show, in any way, any deference or respect to any man or woman whatever, as it might materially injure their standing, leading him or her to suspect perhaps that they were no gentlemen. Some of the gentler sex too, for proper considerations, condescend to do the washing and ironing, or attend to the cooking and baking, or to the setting to rights of the chambers of other richer ladies; without giving up, however, any of their inalienable rights; as, for instance, that of partaking their meals seated down with the rest of the family at the first table—to be waved only at such times as when it happens that buckwheat cakes or other slapjacks require their more immediate attention at the same time in the kitchen. If you are desirous of remaining prosperous both at home and abroad, we would advise you to keep, by all honorable means, on the right sides of these familiars, treating them with profound respect, bearing it in mind that they are not just what they seem to be, but ladies in disguise, perhaps stoop-

ing, for the time, to conquer, and be sure always to call themselves, and others of the same class, by their appropriate names, not servants, of course, but helps, or, if you wish to be still more complacent, companions.

Others, however, still more independent than these, to be found mostly in our largest cities, deign not to seek or sue for any such terms of intimacy or equality between themselves and their employers. The interests of these and of themselves they consider to be, in some respects, diametrically opposite; and they wish it to be clearly laid down and distinctly understood what are the separate rights and immunities of each. To the master and mistress of the house, with their family, in each case, is allowed the free occupation and independent use and enjoyment of all the upper halls, parlors and other apartments, wherein by them they will be faithfully waited upon and served in a becoming manner, but to themselves must be left the supreme control and management of all the departments of the lower story. Into these the "upper ten" of the house are not expected to come down, unless occasionally perhaps to see that the larder and buttery are well supplied, that the coal-house is full, and that all the other out-houses and the cellar are properly provisioned. Of the week, especially as their own, they claim certain evenings, wherein undisturbed they may entertain their friends and hold their soirees. With this high life of theirs enjoyed, at such times, below stairs, it would not be very politic, we think, for any interference to be attempted from above, as it might incite their ire and lead them perhaps even to secede from the house and form themselves into a separate confederacy; which would leave the remaining branch in a very deplorable condition. Should a compromise, however, be effected and the union preserved it is easy to be seen which party will eventually rule the roast and maintain the upper hand. It will certainly be those of the lower department. These, however, for their own advantage, will, no doubt, still tolerate and humor the others of the upper stories, as they could not well spare them, being, in fact, their maintainers,

or money-bags, from which they continually derive their means of keeping up their high style of living or of defraying their heavy expenses. This, we think, is another proof of the progress of our times, shewing that this western hemisphere of ours is perhaps even now on the very verge of being turned completely upside down.

In all christendom, we think, there is no country where the female sex is more likely to attain to a higher distinction and dignity than in our own happy land. In other countries, for woman, all that has been asked or demanded by her advocates is that she have laid down for her, and defined distinctly, her appropriate place or sphere, in which she may be allowed the full exercise and enjoyment of all her rights and privileges, unmolested by the other sex. In our own country, however, no such line of demarcation is demanded or desired. Her sphere and that of the other sex, it has been ascertained, are not to be distinguished. By our more advanced reformers they are pronounced to be precisely the same. As among the bees all the males are drones, which by no sort of culture can be converted into any thing else, but all the females, through a suitable system of feeding among themselves, if commenced when they are larvae, are susceptible of being developed into little, busy workers, and of these too any one, selected at the same early stage, if afforded the essential nursing and ambrosia, can be fashioned, and refined and enlarged into a splendid queen-bee capable of ruling over the whole swarm; so also in the human family, while the intractable, unpliant males can be made to assume, by no possible process, any other characters than their own, by a judicious course of training and culture can the softer sex be modelled into almost any sort of persons you please. Left only to their own whims and fancies and following only the fashions, we all know into what charming, seductive, and sometimes, we must say, even preposterous shapes, are they capable of converting themselves; these varying too in their shades and dimensions almost every hour! Perceiving this natural plasticity of theirs, and being concerned,

at the same time, on looking abroad, at the great number of drones belonging to the opposite sex, out of which can be made, by no possible teaching, any things but drones; contort them as you may, to occupy the intended stations of these, for which themselves are utterly unfit, some of our discriminating educators, having caught, no doubt, their idea from the bees, have been attempting, of late years, by putting some of the most susceptible of our young ladies through a thorough course of masculine education, to develop all their latent faculties and bring them out fully formed into accomplished, steady workers or learned professionalists; and we are pleased to know that in these their laudable endeavors they have been eminently successful. When submitted to out-door exercises and exposure, these accommodating, plastic beings, it has been found, become as sturdy as their masculine companions, and if put through the same course of liberal studies in our colleges with young men designed for the professions, when they come out, between the two, you can scarcely tell the difference. Indeed in the western States, where these experiments have been gone into the farthest, they are generally the female scholars, we are told, who shew themselves, in the end, to be the best senior wranglers. Then, when they have taken their degrees how distinguished do they become afterwards in the learned professions, and how very popular as public lecturers!

At the bar, it is true, we have as yet but few female practitioners. From our courts of justice these have been, to a great extent, hitherto excluded; owing partly, we imagine, to the prejudices of the judges against introducing any thing that is contrary to old forms and established usages, and partly, we are inclined shrewdly to suspect, to the fears of the masculine pleaders themselves lest, after this new accession, they would no longer be able to carry their points so well with the jurors, and both they and their clients would be more frequently cast in their suits, on account of the far more persuasive eloquence of their fair opponents. Which fears of theirs, in sooth we must say, are

by no means ungrounded ; since the sex, as we all know, are naturally possessed of an intuitive perception, a delicate sense, a faculty, independent of all reasoning or argument, of distinguishing at once between what is right and what is wrong, and of jumping at once at just conclusions, peculiar to themselves, shewn, for instance, in the prompt decisions of Portia, in the Merchant of Venice, when she assumes the ermine, and, of which, we think, not even by the rude jostlings of the crowd, to which they would be exposed in public halls, nor by their close acquaintanceship with crime and the worst side of human nature, would our women be entirely divested when permitted to come forward and plead at the bar.

In Medicine, while in the Old World it is mostly only aged ladies, after long experience in nursing the sick, who at length venture to prescribe some nostrums and appliances of their own, consisting mostly of simple, garden herbs, in this New World of ours, on the contrary, are to be met with many blooming young doctors, scarcely out of their teens, of the feminine gender, who have taken their degrees in surgery and physic and are now doing, in some of our largest cities and towns, in the way of practice, a highly respectable business. They are perfectly at home in their profession. The lancet they know as well how to handle as they do the spatula, and a human subject stretched out before them in full form they can dissect in the most scientific manner, and examine into all its glands and other organs with as much pride and gusto as would some old fashioned lady, presiding at a dinner-table, shew in cutting up and distinguishing the several parts of "a good, fat hen—roasted well."

In theology too we have, in our country, some divine ladies, or perhaps we should more properly call them lady divines, who have acquired an enviable celebrity. Some of them indeed, in their attainments and piety, have left in the rear, not only most of the old theologians, but even St. Paul, the apostle, himself, who, by his enjoining it, in some of his Epistles, on all women to keep their heads covered

in public, and in his saying that they should not be suffered to speak in the church at all, shews that he was entirely behind the present age. The musty, old bachelor! However at home he may have been on theological points, what on earth did he know about woman's rights, or the free and independent institutions of these United States!

Indeed these learned ladies, of whatever calling or profession they may be, in their public speeches or lectures, always shew themselves to be in the van of radicalism and reform. In the pleasant month of May, when the great, religious anniversaries are celebrated in the city of New York, not in the staid assemblies of the old-fashioned set, who would be doing every thing in accordance with the rigid rules of orthodoxy, are the voices of these to be heard, but with those of the free thinkers, the free lovers and free livers of all colors and classes and of both sexes, convened for the sake of breaking down all old forms and ceremonies and setting up the new, are they commingled. So far ahead indeed of all others have some of these reformers gone in their sentiments that by them have been set aside, not only the Epistles of St. Paul but all the Sacred Writings, old and new, as being by far too antiquated for the present, refined age, and our advanced country, and in their place is spread out by them the broad sheet of our Declaration of Independence, in which it is laid down, they are proud to see, as a self-evident truth, that all men, and, of course, all women too, as belonging to the same genus and species, are born free and equal. Indeed so radical and reformatory are their speeches, so full of excited feeling, so denunciatory of every thing that is old and established and so eloquent in praise of equalization, that, in reading the reports of them, as published, it often strikes us that their meeting-places must resemble perfect pandemoniums—Excuse this alliterative slip of the tongue; of course, we mean to say—perfect paradises, or elysiums raised up from the infernal regions—Off the track again! What has come over us! We must have recourse to our notes. Ah, now we have it!—let down from the celestial regions into

this mundane sphere of ours, to be realized and enjoyed, in the highly favored city of New York, as a foretaste of the coming millenium, or—of the world turned upside down.

Among children too no where in the whole world are the manly and business faculties developed earlier in life and more rapidly than in our own land. The little fellows, it is true, after the fashion of those in other countries, may sometimes break up their toys and playthings, but this shows in them only their philosophical and inquisitive turns of mind, as they wish to see into their insides and ascertain their constitutions. It is not from any love of destructiveness that they do this. Somewhere in New England it is said that an infant, not long ago, and we believe such cases are common there, only some ten or twelve weeks old, after having remained on his pillow thoughtfully quiet for a long time, was observed at last to raise up from it, slowly and cautiously, his little head, and resting on his elbow, to lean over the rim of his cradle and look down reflectingly, first on this side and then on that side of it, to see, as every one could read it in his face, if he could not possibly hit upon some happy plan of improvement in its construction, whereby the rocking of it could be conducted in a great deal less laborious and more soporiferous manner. In some parts of our country are no longer known any such periods as boyhood and girlhood. These have been squeezed out of the life of man by his amazingly rapid development. At the age of eight or nine years at most has the full-blown miss, if not cruelly kept back by her envious mother, already come out, as they say, into society, and in crino line and floupces fully expanded, is carrying on flirtations and making sensations and conquests, and quizzing and giggling and waltzing and, in fact, taking the lead in all the fashionable gayeties of the season. Of the same years, or a few more, the young master too, though not yet fully fledged, but having the yellow down, the incipient indication of the great, "coming event," now dimly but decidedly "casting its

shadow before" on his upper lip, enwrapt in his gray shawl, his shockingly bad hat set knowingly on one side of his head, is seen in all public places, standing forth and discoursing on the affairs of the nation with the sagest politicians of the country, and in turn, while lending them an ear, with his segar held aloof delicately between his forefinger and thumb, as a gentleman knows how, from his pouched out lips, sending up into their faces delicious whiffs of white and fragrant smoke. On all public occasions, requiring great noise and much display, he bears his part manfully, and on nights of grand processions, fully equipt in cap and cape, and holding high his flaming torch, and vociferating with the loudest, he always shews himself to be "wide-awake"—for the good of his country. Owing to this rapid arrival of theirs at manhood and womanhood our young Americans, it is true, may not have left just as many years for going to school as have the youths in other lands where their growth is slower, but on account of their more precocious development, our youngsters can commence this drudgery very early in life, and get through with it the sooner; and indeed being possessed, from the first, of superior natural abilities, especially of those of a constructive kind, they do not need besides any great amount of education.

Though some will not own it, yet we think it is now tacitly understood and believed by all that the great mission of every man into this world is to make as much money as he can. This is the summum bonum, the great magic power after the acquirement of which all other things can be easily made our own. Possessed of wealth we can obtain not only property but also the highest positions in society and the most honorable offices in the State. Possessed of money we can secure for ourselves friends and influence and esteem and love and flattery and pleasure and promotion. In fact there is nothing in the world which we cannot secure if we only have wealth. "Worth makes the man," says the poet, meaning, of course, the amount of money that the man is worth,—“and want of it the fellow.”

In an old Catechism, it is true, still perseveringly retained by a certain sect of Christians, and made to be early committed to memory by all their children, to the question : What is the chief end of man ? it is answered that it is to glorify God and to enjoy him forever. Without, however, setting aside this answer and indeed the whole question-book that contains it, as being a superannuated manual, utterly out of date, as we should do, still, we think that the most orthodox retainers of it and sticklers for the text as it stands, if understanding its proper interpretation, can, without straining their consciences in the least, hold on religiously to this precept and yet be able to enter fully into the reigning spirit of the world. By the chief end of man is meant here certainly nothing more than the chief end of the life of man. We cannot see how it could refer to his person. Now neither youth nor manhood can properly be called the chief end of the life of man ; because neither of them is the end at all, but one of them is the beginning and the other is the middle of man's life. Of the three parts which compose the life of man, as every one can see with half an eye, it is only old-age which really constitutes its end. Some call it the latter end, and others the principal or chief end. This portion of his days, we are willing to admit, should the devout man consecrate to what is required in the answer to this question ; but with a clear conscience, in the first place, can he devote his youth and manhood, the beginning and the middle of his life, its prime and vigor, to the making of money and the enjoying of it for the time.

Knowing then that money is the grand desideratum of life, to be placed before a man as the ultimate object in all his pursuits, our young philosophers, when they take up their studies, very prudently lay hold of only such of these as can be turned by them afterwards to the best practical account in the way of making it. To accommodate their tastes and capacities and to keep up with the progress of the times, it pleases us to know that we have already founded in our country some colleges on the broadest bases, now flourishing, in which are laid down different courses

of studies, any one of which can the student select for himself, leaving the others untouched, or if he chooses, culling out from all his own favorite branches, he can make out for himself his own curriculum; and in doing this it is wonderful to observe the profound wisdom often displayed in his selections. Catch him, if you can, studying Calculus or Conic Sections or Geology or any branches having the word *ancient* prefixed, such as ancient Geography, ancient History, or, worse than all, the ancient Languages, most properly called the Dead. Catch him, if you can, wasting his time and means on Aesthetics. He will have to do only with the practical and the monetary. Catch him studying Moral philosophy. Morals are all good enough in their place, but a young gentleman, when he wants them, can surely put them on him at his pleasure without having to have recourse to books. Indeed with morals, a too close acquaintance formed by a young man, is not always the most wholesome for him, as they very often insinuate themselves into his inmost life and constitution and very seriously affect his whole after course of conduct and prosperity. A too nice sense of justice, a power of too delicately discriminating between what is right and what is wrong, to the man of a tender conscience, if acquired by him, often proves to be a hindrance rather than a help in the way of making money. There is, we know, an old adage which says that honesty is the best policy; but this, we feel confident, must be taken with some grains of allowance. It is all well enough, to be sure, that those with whom we are dealing should believe firmly that honesty is the best policy, but, as for ourselves, if we wish to overreach them a little, it behooves us to be satisfied, we think, with possessing merely the appearance of strict honesty. We should not be so grasping as to desire for ourselves its whole substance.

If honesty is the best policy how came it to pass, in earlier times, that so many of our enterprising yankees made their fortunes by manufacturing and peddling about and selling to good advantage those ingeniously devised

articles of theirs called wooden clocks, wooden hams and wooden nutmegs? If honesty is the best policy how comes it to pass even now that in New York and Philadelphia are erected so many splendid edifices and private mansions, all through the making and vending, by their humane proprietors, of their secretly compounded and every where published and widely distributed quack medicines? If honesty is the best policy how comes it to pass that our liquor dealers succeed so well as they do, by commingling their potent drugs and coloring matter with common whiskey, in creating wines equal fully to the best Rhenish, and brandies better even than the best Cognac; so that indeed they can pass them off and sell them for these, at an immense profit to themselves, inasmuch as they expended, on the raw materials, out of which they compounded them, but little money in the first place, and then they hold them entirely free of duty and with no cost of transportation? If honesty were the best policy what would become of our mock-auctions, our gift-bookstores and our low-priced jewelry establishments? What would become of Barnum's museum? It would be the breaking up of some of the most respectable houses in the city of New York. In the way of breaking up too, when it must come, how could some of our involved merchants contrive so well to get through with it full-handed, as they call it, and so cleverly as they sometimes do, so that, by merely shifting their names and titles, they are enabled to set up for themselves establishments even larger than before, and on firmer bases, being now freed from all their late encumbrances and liabilities; whereas under the policy of old Honesty they would have had to hang up their fiddles and retire from business, as they would have had to pay off all their old debts? How seriously would this policy affect some of our grocers, their sugar having to remain unsanded, and some of our dairy-men, their milk having to be sold unwatered and their cream unchalked? How seriously would it affect some of our tailors, requiring them to abstain entirely from the use of cabbage, as were the follow-

ers of Pythagoras from that of beans, and some of our millers, being not allowed any more to cheer their drooping spirits in their loneliness by taking, by themselves, some extra dishes of toll! How heavily too would it fall on some of our large grain merchants! In selling their wheat they would have to use just the same sized half-bushels in measuring it out as they did when they received it into their granaries,—at an immense loss to their profits. At the several capitols of our States too, and especially at that great one in Washington, how could some of our wise legislators make up their minds on dubious questions, pending in the houses, satisfactorily to themselves, to say nothing of their constituents, as, under the policy of strict old Honesty again, they dare not receive any golden arguments, or material aid, secretly inserted, by some kind lobby members, into their itching palms, which is no sooner felt by them than at once it dispells all their anxious doubts and confirms their wavering judgments? In our departments of State too how would some of our public officers secure for themselves princely fortunes to retire upon, as under the administration of old Honesty they would have to be satisfied with merely their poor pittances of salaries, for all their eminent services, without being allowed to help themselves to their dues by slyly insinuating their abstracting hands into Uncle Sam's large pockets? What would become of the honorable county of Allegheny and of its great manufacturing city of Pittsburg? Their people would actually have to submit themselves to the decisions of the Supreme Court and pay off all that they owe on their repudiated bonds! Were honesty really the best policy then would not only these, but all our artful rogues and swindlers, soon find it out, and, leaving off their less profitable deeds of darkness, they would begin at once to practice it, just for the sake of its policy; and then what would become of our prison-houses, and our courts of justice? What would become of our constables, our criers and our police officers? Of our aldermen, our lawyers and even of our judges on the bench? Their occupation, like that of Othello, would be gone. No. As true now is the

Old Roman adage as it was when Juvenal spoke it: *Virtus laudatur et alget,—Honesty is praised and freezes.* It has no money of its own, and it has not the skill to make any off other persons. It has not even the means of furnishing itself with sufficient clothing to keep itself warm! Much more suitable to the times and easier to be followed is this injunction now in vogue: Make money, if you can, honestly, but if not, make money the best way you can.

We are aware indeed that, when from the line of rectitude it has been swerved ever so little, there is in man, if still pleased and satisfied with himself, a tendency to diverge thereafter from it still further; and as avarice increases with age, we admit that there is some danger that some of our old men, devoted to business, in their too eager pursuit after wealth, may at last step beyond the proper bounds of discretion and commit some overt act of injustice which will render them amenable to the laws. Before, however, they have come to such a deplorable condition of disgrace, it would certainly be proper and highly commendable, for their watchful sons or grandsons, long since ready for action, to step forward and arrest them in their mad career. As in the apiary, to use again our favorite comparison, when the bees have made a sufficiency of honey, it is still customary, in some places, for their keepers advancing kindly, by means of smoke, to suffocate them all to death, and secure for themselves their spoils, so also in this charming state of society towards which we trust we are all fast hastening, it will be both meet and highly praiseworthy, we think, when our old men have succeeded in making a sufficiency of money, and are now becoming a little reckless in their conduct, for their hopeful sons and heirs, having come forward, not just to smoke them all to death, for that, in their case, would be too cruel, but having seized upon all their spoils and property, that they may save the old rogues from the prison and perhaps even from the gallows, to reduce them down at once to their proper grade of second childhood, and to send them all off, as quietly as possible, to school.

There, under the kind supervision of their school-mistresses or young male teachers, they can be instructed in all those studies now required, which, on account of their limited time, they had neglected in their early youth, or, on account of their being wholly absorbed in business, they had forgotten in their manhood. Especially should they be made to attend to such moral, serious instruction as may best tend to draw them away from their evil courses, and induce them to follow after honesty, justice, prudence and sobriety and to practice all good works, so that becoming, at last, gentle, well-behaved and mannerly old men, correct in all their walk and conversation, diligent students, obedient, and respectful towards their sons and daughters, they may pass, with credit to themselves and these, their green old age, and come out at length fully reformed, and, it is fondly to be hoped, well prepared for entering into, and participating in, all the untried realities of another and a better world.

To accommodate the wants of these scholars at this interesting age, the same school-books now in fashion, we suppose, may still be used; but perhaps with some slight modifications, to suit the change. In the old Continental times, before the Revolution, was an old spelling-book written and published, first in Old England, by one Thomas Dilworth, but brought along afterwards, by our provident fore-fathers, into this country, and always put into the hands of their children at school, by them to be thoroughly conned and mastered, in which, among other unpalatable lessons, was contained a fable for their especial edification, adorned with an illustrative wood-cut, to catch and entertain their fancies, all designed to hold up to their serious consideration this old-fashioned, homely moral:

*Young Folk think Old Folk to be Fools, but Old Folk know that
Young Folk are Fools.*

As soon, however, as the colonies became a great United Republic, and liberty had been proclaimed throughout all our borders, from all the spelling-books in the land was, very properly, thrust aside or excluded this dogmatic fable, as being utterly out of taste, and rude and antiquated

in its style, and illiberal in its sentiment, and, above all, extremely disrespectful to the rising generation. When, however, that blessed time has come, when it will be thought expedient to send our old men to school, we think it will be absolutely necessary, under the circumstances, that a new fable of some sort, the very reverse of this, be invented and inserted into their manuals, set off with a suitable engraving, for them to pore upon and consider, all calculated to impress upon their obstinate hearts this solemn wholesome truth, written underneath: *Old folks think young folks to be fools, but young folks know that old folks are fools.* In the ten commandments too there will be needed, in a few expressions, some slight variations, to suit the circumstances, but none of them so material, when made, as to mar the text. Our commentators can introduce them all as improved readings, more consonant to the original. In most of the ancient languages, for instance, the two words which denote child and parent are derived exactly from the same root, and they differ very little in their spelling and pronunciation. In the Greek indeed the same word, *παις*, means sometimes a father and sometimes a son. Is it then at all improbable that, in ancient times, when the old men had unrestrained control over these matters, and, of course, would have an eye to their own interests, in the fifth commandment, in rendering the two important words in it from the original into their own tongue, they slyly assumed one meaning for the other; and instead therefore of reading it: Honor thy father and thy mother, we would more fully recover and better express the true sense of the injunction by saying: Honor thy son and thy daughter that thy days may be long in the land, &c. ? Which would admirably suit the cases of these old scholars; for should they refuse to pay that homage to their children which is their due, they would be very apt to receive, at the hands of these, such treatment in return as would render their days not just quite so long in the land as they otherwise might have been.

Of the advancing tendencies of things towards the complete inversion in society of all our social and domestic re-

lations, we cannot help imagining, especially just now when looking abroad at the portentous signs of the times, that the happy consummation is no longer very far remote. When we shall have passed through the terrors and horrors of a second revolution, and the stars shall have all fallen from our national banner, and itself shall have been rolled up like a vesture, and laid away, never more to be unfurled, and these United States shall exist no longer in reality but only in history, then not unlikely is it that, among the many little monarchies and republics and aristocracies and mobocracies, which will be formed from their ruins, some English traveller, not many years hence, having come over to this country to examine into our novel institutions and various forms of government, will be surprised to find, perhaps somewhere on the site of the New England States, but more likely colonized by these, in some happy valley, hidden coseily among the Rocky Mountains, just such a little darling of a world as that described by the old English dramatist ; having perhaps the very same form of government and institutions, or, if differing in any way, only a little more advanced and improved. At its Capitol, administering the affairs of State, will he meet with some dignified matrons in frilled caps seated in the Senate chamber, and, fulminating, for the public weal, some patriotic boys, of forward parts, in the House of Representatives, and, seated in the regal chair, some distinguished black prince, of the Woolly Head, as president or governor ; while, in all the private houses he will find industrious men, middle-aged, by means of patented inventions, such as highly improved sewing machines, self-moving cradles, and self-regulating ranges and furnaces, performing, with great comfort to themselves, all the domestic duties ; the old men and old women being all safely out of the way at school. Nay, in his rambles he may stumble on just such a little incident in reality as this, which the old dramatist in his Play has merely imagined : Three old codgers caught playing the truant and brought up by a servant before his young master, the son of one of them, to receive their reprimand and be sent back to school.

SON, SERVANT, GENTLEMAN AND LADY, *native.*

ENGLISH TRAVELLER.

Servant. (to his young master). How well you saw
Your father to school to-day, knowing how apt
He is to play the truant!

Son. But is he not
Yet gone to school?

Servant. Stand by and you shall see.

Enter three OLD MEN with satchels.

All three (singing). Domine, domine, duster;
Three knaves in a cluster.

Son. O this is gallant pastime! Nay, come on.

Is this your school? was that your lesson, hay?

1st Old Man. Pray now, good son, indeed, indeed—

Son. Indeed

You shall to school. Away with him and take
Their wagships with him, the whole cluster of 'em.

2nd Old Man. You sha'n't send us now, so you sha'n't—

3rd Old Man. We be none of your father, so we ben't.

Son. Away with them, I say; and tell their school-mistress
What truants they are and bid her pay 'em soundly.

All three. Oh, oh, oh!

Lady. Alas, will nobody beg pardon for
The poor old boys?

English Traveller. Do men of such fair years
Here go to school?

Gentleman. They would die dunces else.
These were great scholars in their youth; but when
Age grows upon men here, their learning wastes,
An so decays that, if they live until
Threescore, their sons send them to school again;
They'd die as speechless else as new-born children.

English Traveller. 'Tis a wise nation, and the piety
Of the young men most rare and commendable.
Yet, give me, as a stranger, leave to beg
Their liberty this day.

Son. 'Tis granted.

Hold up your heads and thank the gentleman,
Like scholars, with your heels now.*

All three. Gratias, gratias.†

W. M. N.

* He means that they are to scrape and make a bow.

† Thanks, thanks." They say it in Latin according to school custom, to show their progress.

ART. IV.—ANIMAL MAGNETISM AND HYPNOTISM.*

The student of science is rarely in a position to explain the real nature of a pseudo-science, when first brought before the public. He is as likely to ignore the truth which it contains, as to denounce the falsehoods which, superposed on the truth, constitute it charlatanry. Time is required to solve the mystery, and the next generation finds that a comparatively easy task, which had been a Herculean labor to its predecessor. In no pretended science has this been better demonstrated than in Animal Magnetism, or Mesmerism, as it was called after Antoine Mesmer—its founder. The cause of some of the phenomena, which could not be classed under the general head of deception, was not even suspected until decades of years had passed away. We are now put in a position, where it is somewhat easy to investigate these through the aids, with which modern science has supplied us. Figuier has presented us with an excellent resumé of all the facts in the history of Animal Magnetism, and we propose to avail ourselves freely of those in the few pages we shall devote to the subject. It becomes the medical profession never to shun an examination; yet slow and careful deliberation must be employed before we give the result of such an examination, lest, in our haste, we may do irreparable injury to the cause of truth itself. *Festina lente* is a useful motto in scientific, as well as other pursuits.

Antoine Mesmer first appeared before the world, through the columns of a Danish journal, in a letter which obscurely set forth the doctrines that afterwards swelled up to the large proportions and gigantic pretensions of Animal Mag-

* Histoire du Merveilleux dans les temps modernes par Louis Figuier. Tome Troisième.—La Magnétisme animal. Paris, 1860.

netism. He was then a resident of Vienna, but finding his sphere entirely too contracted, he removed, in the year 1778, to Paris, where all his most noted and notorious operations were carried on. In a short time public attention was directed to the pretended influences of the universal fluid, which he asserted was so subtle as to penetrate all bodies without losing any of its activity,—could be employed by the physician for provoking or directing crises in disease or for facilitating the action of remedies. With the view of attaining notoriety, which is equivalent to profit in the case of every quack, he approached the Academy of Sciences. But, although Le Roy, the president, seemed favorable to an examination, this was refused. The Royal Society of Medicine was then asked to examine into the nature of certain cures which he was producing, under the agency of this wonderful fluid, but Vicq-d'Azyr, the permanent secretary, informed him, that having no knowledge of the anterior condition of his patients, they could give no judgment on the subject.

Deslon—the physician in ordinary to the Count d'Artois—was attracted to Mesmer, and worked in company with him. Large apartments were selected for the treatment of the sick or those conceiving themselves sick. In order to accommodate the poor, as well as the rich, a tree, at the end of the Rue de Bondy, was specially charged with the fluid, and, around it, at all hours of the day might be seen crowds of persons, strong in faith, whatever might be said of their bodily infirmities. The number of the rich, demanding the attention of Mesmer, became so great that he conceived a special means of affecting crowds without the necessity of *manipulating* in each case, and this consisted in the *baquet*—a tub or bucket, containing a mixture of pounded glass and iron filings, on which were laid layers of bottles filled with water arranged as radii around a centre,—one layer having the necks turned outwards and the next vice versa;—the *baquet* was nearly filled with water. It was covered with a circular lid of oak, pierced with holes, through which protruded bent rods of glass or iron, one end termi-

nating in the water and the other pointed so that it could be applied to the part of the body affected. Around the baquet the parties undergoing treatment were seated, each holding his rod, and being loosely connected with the baquet by a cord. A more ridiculous scene cannot be conceived than this, especially when we imagine the arch-quack solemnly moving around the circle, clad in a lilac robe, manipulating some, touching others with his rod, and generally facilitating the operations of the fluid when it appeared slow and tedious. Figuier says, "mesmerism without the baquet would have been like nobility without armorial bearings, poetry without images, rhetoric without figures, diplomacy without protocols, geometry without axioms, medicine without a clinique, or religion without symbols." It was in fact the very flower and fruit of the new science.

The Faculty of Medicine taking the connection of Deslon—one of its members—with Mesmer, into consideration, suspended him for one year from its roll, with prospective expulsion if he should not disavow his published observations on animal magnetism. The Faculty, however, injured itself and benefitted Mesmer, by pronouncing him a charlatan and impostor without giving him, what he had asked, an examination. Deslon had been punished for associating with a charlatan, but the latter character was not proven upon Mesmer. In the next Spring, Mesmer announced his intention of leaving France, which was protested against not only by his infatuated patients, but even by Marie-Antoinette. The French government offered to constitute a commission for an examination of the subject, but on afterwards modifying the proposition, so as to dispense with the examination, but offering him an annuity of 20,000 livres, and 10,000 livres to pay for the rent of a house, in which he should instruct persons, three to be named by the government, in the principles of his discovery, Mesmer declined, with a number of ridiculous reasons for non-acceptance, and among these the fact that "he wanted territorial property rather than money."

After Mesmer had left Paris, Deslon acted the part of iatro-hierophant. At Mesmer's sessions, when his baquets were surrounded with anxious patients, the soothing sounds of the harmonica were used, Deslon employed the piano forte, and an orchestra at times executed expressive symphonies, or vocal music lent its aid to the general soothing influences of the magnetic saloon. The magnetic condition was marked with fits of laughter, yawnings, chills or sweats, "but, most often, with what was considered a happy symptom, motions and agitations of the intestines of a nature easy to understand, when we recollect that Mesmer almost always had taken care to administer to his patients a slightly laxative potion of cream of tartar." Females were the first who showed any additional effects of an influence on the nervous system; painful groans, floods of tears and frightful singultus, rattling respiration and hipocratic countenance suggestive of suffocation,—these were followed by convulsions. The most *endiables* (the word is excellent, we dare not attempt its translation) were carried into a chamber provided with mattresses and cushions on the floor, and with wadded walls. Here they could indulge in all the fantastic movements of hysteria, without injuring themselves or disturbing others. We do not know enough of the secret history of this chamber to endorse it as the temple of Vesta, probabilities incline us to another opinion on the subject.

Mesmer, having returned to Paris, a subscription was raised to form a class, to whom he should impart instruction in his discovery. About this time he treated Court de Gébeline, and making a warm partizan of him, a species of masonic lodge was formed, called "*the Order of Harmony*," with its emblem, consisting of a burning altar, under a starry sky with the full moon, and the motto *omnia in pondere et mensurâ*.

The famous commission, of which Franklin, Le Roy, Bailly and others were members, was appointed by the king, March 12, 1784 to investigate the reality of the so-called magnetism. Inasmuch as this commission pre-

ferred to deal with Deslon rather than with Mesmer, the latter protested, but Bailly insisted upon it that the principles of the two were the same. Mesmer, then by a bold-stroke determined to push his opponents to the wall,—he published the names of the first hundred members of the Society of Harmony. These included La Fayette, Montesquieu, Noailles and others of the highest aristocratic circles. Their names were supposed sufficient to stamp mesmerism as certainly genteel, if not true, and, at the same time, to throw discredit upon Deslon and those who held with him. The latter, however, could boast the names of twenty one of the Faculty in the list of his élèves. This boast attracted the attention of the Faculty, who forthwith struck the names of such members from their roll, declaring that *compertum est M. Deslon et quosdam hujusce saluberrimi ordinis doctores, jurisjurandi ac virtutum quae medicum decent inmemores, dedisse nomen novae et formidosae circulatorum militiae, quae facile credulos vanâ tuendae sanitatis spe, delusos mortales detinens, civium saluti, bonis moribus et fortunis, abstrusas molitur insidias.*

Bailly's report had to do with three things promised by Deslon, 1, to determine the existence of animal magnetism, 2, to communicate his knowledge of this subject, 3, to prove its utility in the cure of the sick. The first point was difficult to explain, since it must rest either on assertion or on an exhibition of its effects, the second would only be of service in shewing that Deslon was an adept,—therefore, the third alone could engage the attention of the commission. The members soon became weary of the close examination required in investigating the pretended remedial influences, and they proceeded to examine more particularly the physical phenomena exhibited by those under mesmeric influence. The convulsions attracted their attentions, and they did not hesitate to say that there seemed some powerful influence affecting the sick, of which the magnetizer appeared to be the sole depository. They desired experiments should be made on themselves. Deslon himself acted as operator. "But although magne-

tism was energetic in its action on the multitude, it was calm and serene with the savants of the Academy and the Faculty."

At length it was determined to experiment at Passy on persons really sick ; most of them experienced no effect whatever. An effort being made to mesmerize Franklin, his secretary and his two nieces, proved also a failure. The Commission reported that, "feeling, imagination and imitation were the true causes of the effects attributed to this new agent known by the name of animal magnetism ; and that the use of the so-called magnetism must produce only injurious effects." This report, dated August 11, 1784, was followed by one from the Royal Society (Aug. 16, 1784). After the publication of the report, Mesmer's reputation began to decline, and in the course of 1785 he left Paris, visiting it again several times, during one of which visits he met Bailly on the way to his execution and courteously saluted him. The charlatan had lived his day,—the rest of his natural life was spent in luxurious obscurity, until March 15, 1815, when he died in Switzerland.

We have given, somewhat in detail, the history of Mesmer, and his connection with this pretended discovery. It is not possible within the limits of this article to dwell upon all the phases which animal magnetism assumed under its cultivators. In 1785, the Marquis de Puységur discovered artificial somnambulism, which revolutionized the whole practice of mesmerism. This became immensely popular with military men. "The descriptions given of the phenomena of this somnambulism abound in details absolutely incredible, and yet attested by thousands of honorable, disinterested witnesses." In 1787 Dr. Petetin of Lyons discovered how an artificial catalepsy could be produced by means of animal magnetism, the cause of which condition he considered due to an electric fluid which, proceeding from the brain, was directed by the par vagum towards the stomach and there exercised its effects. Eberhard Gmelin, the physiologist, inclined to the same opinion.

The subject having been brought before the Academy of Medicine again, through the experiments of Dupotet and others, a permanent Commission was appointed on the subject (Feb. 28, 1826), which prepared a report that was presented in June, 1831. This report, made by Husson and never either discussed or adopted by the Academy, admitted the existence of certain phenomena which could not be explained. It became "the pride and joy of the magnetizers." Six years afterwards, the Academy was obliged to undertake a re-examination of the subject, in consequence of attention having been directed to the painless performance of painful operations on persons under the mesmeric influence.

A Commission, consisting of Roux, Bouillaud, H. Cloquet, Pelletier, Dubois, Caventou and three others, was appointed to report upon certain facts which were alleged by Berna—a young mesmerizer—to occur in his practice. Their report was handed in, July 17, 1837, and was decidedly adverse to all the pretensions of Berna. This report brought out a paper from Husson, who felt that his credit was at stake, but the Academy adopted the report of the Commission, which had been written by Dubois. The disturbance, created at this time, induced Dr. Burdin, in September of the same year, to offer a prize of 3,000 francs to the somnambulist, who could read without the use of his eyes, of light or of touch. The Academy accepted the award of this prize, and Dubois, Double, Chomel, Husson, Louis, Gérardin and Moreau were appointed to superintend. But two persons accepted the challenge of Burdin, M. Pigeaire of Montpellier and Dr. Hublier. These failed to perform that which they promised. The failure was so complete that in 1840 Double recommended to the Academy of Medicine, "that it should abstain from bestowing any attention to the subject of Animal Magnetism, in the future; just as the Academy of Sciences refused to occupy itself with the quadrature of the circle and perpetual motion. This proposition was adopted by the Academy, * *

* and since the year 1840, when this edict of ostracism was

passed, the Academy has paid no attention to the subject, although that would not prove that it might not take it up to-morrow."

We do not care to present any details of the history of Mesmerism in England or the United States. They would not differ materially from those belonging to its history in France. Phenomena were frequently exhibited, which could not be explained as mere tricks, or the results of self-deception, and yet were not intelligible with the adoption of the theories presented by those who had attempted their investigation. In modern *hypnotism* we have similar phenomena, freed from mysterious surroundings, which may enable us to pilot our way through the stormy waters of mesmerism. "The same physiological data explain also a host of pretended supernatural events, which general history has handed down or the special history of prodigies has collected in the annals of science. It is easy to find among different peoples, various means of enchantment, fascination, &c., which may be considered as of the same nature as those provoked by *the nervous sleep*. The actions and heroes of modern thaumaturgy are thus despoiled of all their supernatural prestige. The state of extatic illumination of a crowd of individuals, and sometimes of entire populations, which formerly so gravely embarrassed scientific criticism, is no longer a great mystery; the marvellous vanishes from this dark territory when science plants a foot upon it."

Hypnotism was discovered by Dr. Braid of Manchester, in 1841. This word was employed to indicate the process by which a person is thrown into a somnambule sleep. It consists in holding a bright object, between the thumb and middle fingers of the left hand, from six to twelve inches before the eyes, above the forehead, so that the person will be compelled to make some slight exertion with the eyes in order to look at it. The attention must be solely directed to the object. At first the pupils contract, afterwards they dilate. After ten or fifteen seconds have elapsed, on raising the legs or arms gently, a disposition

will be perceived on the part of the patient, if he has been strongly affected, to retain them in the position they have been placed. Special sensations, such as that of warmth or cold, the muscular sense and certain of the mental faculties are at first greatly exalted, as is the case in alcoholic stimulation. This is followed by a depression greater than occurs in natural sleep; the special sensations may instantaneously disappear, and the muscles assume, on the one hand, the most tonic rigidity or extreme mobility. In order to remove the cataleptic condition, it is only necessary to direct a slight current of air upon the rigid organ.

Braid claimed to be able to perform operations on patients in this hypnotic state. Azam of Bordeaux had made experiments on patients to prove their insensibility to pain in this condition, but did not divulge the results obtained until 1859, when he communicated them to Broca of Paris. The latter immediately determined to employ Hypnotism in a surgical operation, with the view of testing this insensibility. The first operation was the opening of a very painful abscess, which was performed without any consciousness of the operation. Velpeau announced this to the Academy, Dec. 5, 1859, since which time, general attention has been given to it in France by physiologists. Further investigations have only shown that the abolition of sensibility is confined to the peripheral nerves, so that hypnotism will never supplant, as an anaesthetic agent, either ether or chloroform. Surgically considered, hypnotism has been a failure, but in a physiological point of view, it is of immense importance as a guide to the comprehension of mesmeric phenomena. It has proven the existence of such a state as nervous sleep.

Figuiet presents some prominent facts which have attracted the attention of science, and which evidently are to be classed with those of Hypnotism. Prominent among these are the operations (261 in number) performed without pain by Dr. Esdaile in India, under what he claimed to be mesmerism. These were first published in 1852, and are undoubtedly cases of nervous sleep. The monks of Mount

Athos were said to throw themselves into protracted cataleptic extacies, simply by looking fixedly at the umbilicus. The fakirs of India accomplish the same result by looking at the tip of the nose, from which, they say, after a little while, a bluish flame proceeds, and then the cataleptic condition occurs. The Arabs exhibit similar phenomena, and Dr. Rossi—physician to Halem Pacha—says that hypnotism is employed by the Egyptian sorcerers to produce sleep and insensibility. In the French possessions in Africa, means of fascination are employed of a like character by the *Gzanes* Arabs, and the marabouts of some of the religious sects on the frontiers of Morocco. "On the palm of the hand is described, with some black coloring substance, a circle with a black point in the centre. By fixing the eyes attentively on this circle for a few minutes, they become fatigued and begin to twinkle and get obscured; soon the fatigue is followed by sleep with a species of insensibility." Another method involves the patient's gaze being directed to the light of a lamp behind a transparent bottle, filled with water. In the case of one with a nervous temperament, palpitations of the heart and cephalalgia may be induced.

The fascination which serpents are said to exercise on birds, &c., may possibly be explained in this way. Chickens can be hypnotized by placing them on a board, holding the bill on the same and then drawing a line in front of them, in the prolongation of the bill. This was known in the time of Kircher* and is mentioned in his *Ars magna lucidæ et umbræ* (1646). That, fixed gaze from man on almost all animals will render them quiet and at least for the time, gentle, is known to every one.

* Gallinam pedibus vinctam in pavimentum quoddam deponere: quæ primo quidem se captivam sentiens, alarum succussione totiusque corporis motu, vincula sibi injecta excutere omnibus modis laborabit; sed irritò tandem conatu de evasione, veluti desperabunda, ad quietem se componens, victoris de arbitrio sistet. Quietâ igitur sic manente gallina, ab oculo ejusdem in ipso pavimento lineam rectam cretâ vel alio quovis coloris genere quæ chordæ figuram referat, duces. Deinde eam compedibus solutam relinques. Dico quod gallina, quantumvis vinculis soluta, minime tamen avolutura sit, etiam si ad avolandum instimulaveris.

Having thus shown the fact that there is such a state as has been called nervous sleep, let us see how Figuier applies this by way of explanation to the mesmeric phenomena. The important point, in the employment of the *baquet* by Mesmer, was the distraction of the mind from all surrounding objects and disturbing thoughts; then the movements of the mesmerizer or the object on which the eyes were fixed, became the means of producing the hypnotic effect. Mesmer operated usually on natures that were extremely nervous, and the appearance of convulsions in one case, through the power of involuntary imitation or expectation, would ensure the appearance of similar convulsions in nearly all, especially when they were connected together by a common chord, which they believed to be a magnetic chain.

Should the question rise whether hypnotism would be sufficient to account for the violent nervous phenomena which required those affected to be carried into Mesmer's cushioned chamber, it can be met by the experience in the hospitals of Paris in 1860, where hypnotism produced attacks of most frightful hysteria, and experience taught the operators that it could not be considered an inoffensive amusement, in consequence of the congestion of the brain attending it being very dangerous in some patients. A case given by Gigot-Suard is, in this particular, very important. "A nervous young girl was hypnotized with a pair of scissors held a few inches above the root of her nose. In ten minutes her sleep was complete; as soon as the eyelids closed, she threw herself back in the easy chair, her feet projecting in the air. Her body became as a rigid rod. She did not utter cries, but veritable howls, which were from time to time, interrupted by incoherent words, such as *cemetery, death, phantom, &c.* She tore her face with her nails, requiring two to restrain her. The frenzy would change for fits of immoderate laughter, followed by tears, hiccoughs and new convulsions," &c. All these symptoms resulted from the use of a pair of scissors, held a few inches above the root of the nose. Surely Mesmer's most astounding phenomena were not more so than these.

Gigot-Suard has also found that it is not necessary to employ a brilliant object, that the contemplation of any object, in some cases, will produce the required effect. The Mesmerizers employ, instead of a brilliant object, the eyes of the operator;—the patient is generally seated on a chair somewhat lower than the operator, which results in a species of strabismus in addition to the ocular fatigue. The manipulations and other processes adopted by mesmerizers only accelerate the effect, by acting on the imagination and the nervous system.

A comparison of the physiological phenomena of the mesmeric and hypnotic conditions will be quite as striking and demonstrative of their identity, as that of the means of producing these conditions has been. The following are common results produced in good somnambules by mesmerizers: "1, insensibility of the periphery of the body; 2, muscular rigidity proceeding, in some cases, to catalepsy, or in, others to marked relaxation of all the muscles; 3, exaltation of the principal senses; 4, exaltation of the intelligence." Now the three first results are common with individuals in the hypnotized state,—the two first, indeed, furnish the proof of the existence of this state, and the third—hyperaesthesia—is thus mentioned by Azam: "Hypnotic hyperaesthesia affects all the senses, except sight, but it is specially manifested in the sensation of temperature and in the muscular sense, the existence of which it demonstrates in an irrefragable manner. The hearing becomes so acute that a conversation can be heard in a lower story; the subjects become very much fatigued by this acuteness; their countenances express the pain, which, the noise of vehicles or that of the voice, gives them; the sound of a watch is heard at twenty-five feet distance. The sense of smell is developed and acquires the acuteness possessed by animals. The patients draw back with disgust from odors that no one else perceives. If one has used ether, or made an autopsy three or four days before, he cannot deceive these patients. * * * The muscular sense acquires such delicacy, that I have seen repeated

before me the strange things which are related of spontaneous somnambulism, and of many of the so-called magnetic subjects. I have seen them writing very correctly, when a large book was held between the eyes and the paper, or threading a very fine needle under the same circumstances, and walk into an apartment with their eyes absolutely closed and bandaged,—all these without any other real guide than the resistance of the air and the perfect precision of movements guided by the hyperaesthetic muscular sense."

In the condition attained by the magnetic somnambule, it is alleged that peculiar powers of knowing the thoughts are possessed. It is difficult to argue on this point, because so difficult to get at the real truth in the testimony adduced. It is impossible that an individual can enjoy, in such a condition, privileges which are foreign to human nature. This is admitted from past experience and by our reason. The burden of proof lies on the other side. "But the exaltation, the remarkable development that the principal senses attain in this physiological condition, and the not less striking exaltation of the intellectual faculties (which undoubtedly results from this same transient activity of the principal senses) render the individual capable of many acts and thoughts which are interdicted in the normal state. He can reflect, compare, recollect better than when in a waking condition ; but he can not exceed the limits of his faculties or of the knowledge previously received. He deceives himself every time he wishes to depart from the sphere that nature assigns our faculties. * * * The transient excitation of the senses of the magnetic somnambule will explain then, according to our opinion, the phenomena which magnetisers have called *suggestion*, or *penetration of thought*. When a magnetizer declares that his somnambule will obey an order mentally expressed by himself, and when the somnambule, which is, however, somewhat rare, accomplishes this *tour de force*, it is not impossible to explain the apparent miracle, which, if it were real, would reverse all the notions of physiology and, we might say, all the known laws of animate nature. In this case,

a noise, a sound, a gesture, any sign whatever, an impression inappreciable to all the assistants, is sufficient to the somnambule, in the extraordinary condition of tension of his principal senses, to make him understand, without any supernatural aid, the thought which the magnetizer wishes to communicate."

Although the facts thus elicited enable us to recognize the identity, or at least the close relationship, of Mesmerism and Hypnotism, and to refer them both to a physiological condition, still the explanation of this physiological condition is wanted. Honest study may now furnish us results which could not have been attained in the last century when Mesmer first attracted attention by his singular phenomena. Physiology and Psychology must go hand in hand in the investigation. So long as the facts were mixed with charlatanry, it was difficult to attract the attention of the students of either science to this investigation. What is the physiological condition under which these phenomena are produced? The terms, *magnetic somnambulism*, *nervous sleep*, *hypnotic state* are only names, but they indicate a condition, the producing cause of which is as certainly open to study as its effects.

L. H. S.

Baltimore.

ART. V.—NOTES ON THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS.

BY PROF. ADLER, OF NEW YORK.*

"The scene of the play is at Argos in front of the royal palace, on the flat roof of which is stationed a watchman awaiting the fire-signal, that was expected to announce the fall of Troy. In the foreground are altars and images of the Gods. A part of the decoration represents the city of Argos. The action begins with the close of night. The chorus is composed of fifteen aged men from among the leading citizens of Argos, who, in the absence of Agamemnon, probably constituted the nominal council of the queen. This accounts for his presence at the royal mansion as early as the break of day, in order to attest his vigilance for the common weal and his loyal devotion to the interests of the sovereign; perhaps to learn the pleasure of the queen. His solicitude in behalf of Agamemnon is based on the prediction of Calchas (v. 144) and not upon the infamous intercourse between Clytemnestra and Aegisthos, which seems to have been unknown to him until it was divulged by Cassandra." * * *

Schneider.

V. 1. Θεὸς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων, κ. τ. λ. For the *μὲν* of this verse it has been difficult to find a proper correlative. The *καί* of v. 8, and the *δέ* of v. 20, have been proposed, but neither of them appear to have sufficient adversative force here. The former is entirely inadmissible, as the *καί νυν φυλλάσσω* denotes no opposition whatever, but a bare coördination of thought; and like *κατοῖδα*, is to be directly linked to *ἦν κοιμώμενος* of v. 2. The *δέ* of v.

* These notes were prepared with reference to the text of Wellauer. But the numbers prefixed to each note refer to Dindorf's revision of Porson's text, as published by Teubner.

20 is more plausible, though it must be confessed, that there can be no very rigorous opposition in sentences that express the same thing in nearly the same terms. I am, therefore, inclined to regard the particle in question as the *μέν solitariūm*, h. e., the adversative limitation corresponding to the concession made by *μέν* is entirely wanting and to be supplied in thought. If this be admitted, then the purport of the passage would be as follows: "Of Gods at least I ask release from these my toils," they are the only power that I can ask, others I neither can nor dare ask. cf. Kühner's *Ausführl. Gramm.* Vol. 2. § 734, 2.

V. 64. *κονίασι*, very frequently in the pl. (= *arenae*) with reference to its composition, as consisting of many parts or particles. Sense: "The knee braced against the sand of the arena."

V. 65. *ἐν προτελείῳς*, in the beginning of the battle, at the commencement of the fight.—*Προτελεία*, sc. *ἱερὰ*, Opfer das einer Handlung als Einweihung vorangeht.—Sühnopfer.

V. 66. *θήσω*, in the sense of "imposing on, causing," *πολλὰ παλαίσματα* for its object.

V. 68. *τελείται*, i. e., "It will be accomplished according to the decree of fate."

V. 69. *ὕποχλαιών*, "weeping a little, or secretly, by stealthy tears (sobs)."

V. 70. *ἀπύρων ἱερῶν*, "for, on account of the fireless (i. e. unperformed, unoffered) sacrifices," or of the deities (furies), whom no sacrifices can appease.

V. 71. *ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς*, the unyielding anger (of the Gods).

V. 72. *παραθέλει*, "will appear, soothe." In this sentence the subject understood is *τις* with *οὐθ'* = "no one." The passage may be rendered: "Nor shall any one by secret sobbings, by secret libations or by the shedding of tears, appease the inflexible wrath of the fireless deities (i. e., the Furies); or else: the inflex. wr. of the Gods on account of the neglected (fireless) sacrifices."

V. 74-75. *ἰσχὺν ἰσόπαυδα νέμοντες*, "pasturing, husbanding, managing our childlike (feeble) strength with the staff," i. e., supporting, aiding it.

V. 78; *ἰσόπρεσβυς*, 1. Gleich alt; 2. dem Alter gleich: "for when youthful marrow is ruling the breast within, as in old age, and when (on the other hand) Ares is not in the place (at the same time), then over-aged, or as in over-age, &c."

V. 79. *φυλλᾶς*, Blätterhaufen; Lager von Blättern; Oft mit Blättern = "foliage" simply.

V. 82. *ἀλαίει* (= *ἀλῶνται*) umherschleichen: "sneaks, sinks, walks, runs about like a day-dream."

V. 93. *ἀνίσχει*, "rises aloft, ascends, mounts up." (Said also of the sun).

V. 94. *φαρμασσομένη*, "(healed, cured), tempered, adorned, colored, mixed, seasoned."

V. 95. *ἄδολος*, truglos, arglos, kunstlos, ohne List, "fraudless, unadulterated."

V. 95. *παραγορία*, 1. Zureden: 2. Trösten, Lindern, Mildern; Milderung. Render: "Tempered with the soft and fraudless admixture of the sacred unguents, the royal oil from the cellar."

V. 96. *πέλαος*, ὁ, 1. Opferkuchen; 2. jeder Teig, Brei; any viscous substance, e. g., wax, oil: blood, gore, &c.

V. 96. *μυχόθεν*, aus dem Innern, i. e., "from within, from the recesses of the palace."

V. 98. *αἰνεῖν*, 1. lit. loben, güttheissen, i. e., dulden; 2. (in Aeschyl. only) "to speak, promise; here: to disclose."

V. 99. *παῖων*, 1. the physician to the Gods; 2. physician, healer generally.

V. 101. *ἀγανδ*, freundlich, mild, liebreich, "bland."

V. 101. *φαίνουζ*, the verb—wedeln, schwänzeln, streicheln, schmeicheln. Then: "blandly flattering hope."

V. 102. *φροντιδ*, Sorge, Bekümmerniss—"apprehension, anxiety."—*ἄπλησον*, nicht auszufüllen, unersättlich. Connect this with *λύπη*.

V. 103, *θυμώβορον*, herzzerfressend. The entire passage may be Englished thus:

"And he the healer of this care,
Which now becomes the enemy of the soul,
And then again, as flattering hope,

From sacrifices blandly beaming,
Protects the mind, insatiate of grief,
From heart-corroding sorrow."

V. 194. *κύριός εἰμι*, "I am master, have it in my power to announce (proclaim), &c. *ῥποςῶν*, schreien, tönen; transitively: ertönen lassen, laut werden lassen, *erzählen, sagen*.

V. 104. *αἶτον*, glückbedeutend, günstig: gebührend, gehörig, erforderlich, glücklich. "The strength or might, propitious of its way, or the expedition, of full grown, perfect men."—*ἐτελής*, vollendet, vollreif, regal? royal? (Voss). Render then: "It is in my power to proclaim the might of perfect men (of full-born heroes) successful in its course, auspicious on its way—or the auspicious power attending the path (career) of noble men; or the might of noble men attended by auspicious omens on its way."

V. 107. *σύμφυτος*, 1. mitgewachsen, angeboren;—the time having grown up with me from my birth.—2. zuge wachsen, zugetheilt;—3. dicht verwachsen. In this place perhaps: "congenitus," co-begotten?—*αἶών*, ὁ, Zeit, Zeitraum, Lebenszeit, Leben; Menschenalter. Co-begotten, age or times: "For yet persuasion, sprung from Jove, inspires my song, and co-begotten time my strength (courage, prowess, valor)." For other readings cf. Schütz and Klausen.

V, 108. *ὅπως*, when, what time.

V. 110. *σύμφρονα τανύν*, the adjective, gleichgesinnt, like minded, harmonious; the substantive Ordnen, Befehlen; Oberherrschaft, Oberbefehl, in apposition with *χράτος*; the abstract for the concrete: "the unanimous commanders of Hellas' youth," or, "inipig in Herrschaft."

V. 115. *ἀργίας*, (= *ἀργός* of Schutz) is probably a wrong reading for *ἀργῆς*, *ἄντος*, a Doric contraction of *ἀργῆς*, the Doric form of *ἀργήης*, weiss, glänzend.

V. 115. *ἐξόπιν*; this word is not in Passow. Perhaps some variation of the forms *ἐξόπιθεν*, *ἐξόπιθε*, poet. for *ἐξόπισθεν*—hinterwärts, rückwärts, dahinter, im Rücken.

V. 119. *λαγέαν*, adjective of *λάγηνος*, ἡ οὖν (= *λάγειος*) only found in Aeschylus, from *λαγός*: relating or belonging to the hare, of the hare, hare. . . . Compos.

V. 137. *αὐτότοκον*, Schol. *σὺν αὐτῷ τόκῳ*: zusammt der Leibesfrucht, together with its brood. But with changed accent *αὐτοτόκος*, it is active: selbstgebärend.

V. 141. *δρῶσαι*—*δρῶς*, lit. dew, metaph. alles Zarte, Frische, Weiche, i. e., whatever is soft, fresh, tender, new. Here—*τοῖς νεογνοῖς*.

λεπτός, abgeschält, metaphor. zart, fein, zierlich. Schneider: *ἀέπτοις*, den unerwünschten od. keine gute Hoffnung für die Zukunft gebenden.—Others still *ἀέπτοις*, zu schwach, um folgen zu können, (from *ἐπομαι*).—Still others lastly *ἀέπτοις*, *haud laedentibus*. Cf. Passow, Wellauer, Schütz, &c.

V. 143. *ὀβριχάλα*, τὰ (—) Aeschyl. = *ὄβρια*, τὰ, (from *βρώ*) the young of animals, whelps. Passow.—Schneider derives it from *βρίζεν*. Vid. notes. Photius says: *ὄβρια καὶ ὀβριχάλα τὰ τῶν λεόντων καὶ λύκων σκυμνία*.—Cf. Spanheim's note.

V. 144. *τούτων*, here—"on this account, therefore, wherefore." *τερπνῶ*, adverbially, zu ihren Gunsten. Schneider. In construing this sentence, you can either make *Ἀρτεμις* the subject of *αἰτεῖ* and supply *μέ*, or else make *φάσματα στρουθῶν* the nominative. "Therefore she calls upon (bids) me to make (regard) the appearance of the birds omens propitious indeed (*μέν*), but still of doubtful import."—*κατάμορφα* is here = *κατάμεμπτα*, liable to blame, to be found fault with, *culpanda*.—*κρῶναι* is explained by *φδναι* by the Scholiast. Schütz proposes *αἰτῶ* for *αἰτεῖ*, unnecessarily.—*στρουθῶν* is correctly referred to *ἀστῶν* above.

With reference to the entire passage the Scholiast remarks: *δέξια διὰ τὴν νύκτα, κατάμορφα διὰ τὸν χρόνον Ἀρτέμιδος*, i. e., *faustis illis quidem ob significationem, sed culpandis tamen ob numen Dianae laesum*.—*ξύμβολος* et *ξύμβολον* in neutro dictum proprie de avium augurio ex eorum occurso et signo quod inde capiebatur. Spanheim.

V. 146. *ἔχον*—*Παιῶνα*, refers to Phoebus, the averter of evil, whom the prophet beseeches to appease the anger of Artemis. The Scholiast, in explanation of the character in which Apollo is here invoked, adds: *ὡς μάντις* (bet-

ter *μῆτρει*). The epithet *ἀλεξίπαιον*, however, is more becoming. *Παῖον* designates the deity as the physician to the Gods, and more generally as the healer, the redeemer from evil. In this capacity he was wont to be invoked with *ὦ, ὦ*, exclamations of distress. Hence *ἰήτιος*, one who is called upon by those in agony or distress, "the helper, deliverer;" or, if it be derived from *ἰδομαι*, "the healer." Thus Sophocles in the Oed. T. has *ἴμε Φοῖβε*, and again *ἴμε, ἄλλε παῖον*; and Callimachus in his Hymn to Apollo, addresses the God by *ὦ ἰή παῖον* and *ὦ ἰή παῖον*. Bacchus was likewise hailed by a joyous *ὦ ἰή*, "*tanquam ilarum et quo esset illeus seu propitius.*" Spanheim.

V. 149-150. *μή—τεύξῃ*. The implied subject of this sentence is the *ἀ καλῶ*, i. e., *Ἄρτεμις*, of v. 140. The Scholiast adds in explanation *ὦ Ἄρτεμι*, in the vocative, thus making *τεύξῃ* the second person middle subjunctive Aorist. This is in perfect accordance with the Attic idiom, in which, in negative and prohibitive propositions with *μή* the subjunctive Aorist is regularly employed as a sort of gentle imperative, expressing a prayer or wish that something may not take place, the Aorist being chosen in preference to the Present, to denote the action of the verb in an absolute manner and without any reference to time. Cf. Kühner's *Ausführl. Gramm.* Vol. II, § 469, 3. If this explanation be adopted, then *μή—τεύξῃ* constitutes an independent sentence, and is rendered in connection with the preceding verse, thus: "I invoke (i. e., I beseech thee by) Phoebus, the healer and helper in need, do not (or: O, mayst thou not) Artemis, ever prepare for the Greeks, by contrary winds, tedious, ship-detaining delays (of their voyage)," &c.—If, however, on the other hand, we regard *τεύξῃ* as the third person of the subjunctive Aorist active, then the order is: *καλέω Παῖνα μή (Ἄρτεμις) . . . τεύξῃ*, x. r. λ. "I call upon Paian, that Artemis may not prepare, i. e., to prevent Artemis from preparing, &c.," and then the clause introduced by *μή* is a dependent final proposition.—*ἐχενήδας*. The common reading was *ἐχενήδας*, which Blomfield and others after him have contracted in-

to the present form for the sake of the measure. Compos. *ἔχω* and *ναῖς*.—*ἀπλοίας* the contrary of *εὐπλοια*.

V. 151. *σπουδομένα*, the Doric for *σπουδομένην*, "setting on foot, hastening to prepare for yourself, or with a view to obtain or prepare for your benefit."—Others read *σπενδομένα* with less propriety.—*ἐτέραν*, *aliam ac qua opus est, mutalam in pejus, κακόν, infaustam* (Bothe); or else: *aliam praeter Iphigeniam victimam caedemque accelerans* (Haupt).—*ἄδαυτον* is explained by the Scholiast by *ἦν οὐδεὶς ἔδαισε*, i. e., (a sacrifice), which no one ever partakes of, on account of it being human.

νεκέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον, "the worker," i. e., "the cause of contention among kinsmen," between husband and wife. *δύμφυτον* here=*συγγενεῖν* (Schol.), and is in this instance, as frequently elsewhere, by hypallage made to agree with *τέκτονα*, when it properly belongs to *νεκέων*. The usual, proper, order would be: *νεκέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον*. This is said with reference to the quarrel between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, to which the immolation of Iphigenia gave rise.—The *οὐ δεσφόρα* is to be referred to Clytemnestra: *virum non timentem, jura matrimonii violentem*. The Scholiast explains it by *οὐ φοβουμένην, ἣ οὐ δεισασαν τὸν ἄνδρα*.

V. 153. *παλινόρος*. This is the form adopted by Wel-lauer and Schneider instead of the more usual *παλινόροος*. It is sustained by the Etymologicum Magnum, p. 648: *ἐχοῖν διὰ τοῦ (τ) γράφεσθαι, οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦ (σ)*. Its signification is: *semper denuo resurgens*, said with reference to the frequent family disasters and crimes of the Pelopides, which the vengeance of Clytemnestra would again revive. The Scholiast's explanation *ἥ* (i. e. *μῆνις*) *ἐξ ὀστέρου ὀρμωμένην*, and that of Photius *ὀπισθόρμητος* are less in accordance with the etymology of the word and less forcible. Epithet is here heaped upon Epithet, in order to heighten the pathos and terror of the description: "For there will remain (i. e., await, sc. Agamemnon after his return) the frightful ire (*φοβερά μῆνις*), again roused from its slumber (*παλινόρος*), ever mindful, i. e., of past injuries (*ωδῶν* =

μῆτρων), child-avenging, treacherous keeper of the house." The present μίμναι is used for the future, in order to give an air of certainty to the prediction.

V. 156. ξὺν μεγάλῳ ἀγαθῷ, sc. διὰ τὴν νίκην (Scholiast). The great blessings relate to the taking of Troy;—ξύν, along with, besides.

V. 157. μόρσιμ', "decreed by the fates," in a bad sense, *fatalia, funesta*.—ἀπ', from, i. e., judging from, inferring it as a consequence of their appearance. This is the *κατάμορφα* δέ of v. 144—. The dat. οἴκοι βασιλείας depends on μόρσιμα.

V. 158. The Scholiast makes ὁμόφωνον=ὁμοφώνως. Turnebus reads: τοῖς δ' ὁμοφρῶν ἄν.

V. 169. Ζεὺς ὅστις, x. τ. λ. The Ancients frequently express an extreme timidity and delicacy of feeling in addressing the supreme Ruler of the Universe, lest they should incur his displeasure by giving him a wrong or less acceptable name. Thus, for example, Socrates in Plato's *Philebus* remarks: τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέος, ὃ Πρώταρχε, αἰ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἀνθρώπων. Hence they often employ, as does our poet here, some conciliatory formula, beseeching pardon and indulgence for their ignorance or error. So Euripides *Troad*. 846 addresses Jove by

Ὅστις ποτ' εἰ σὺν δυσόπαστος εἰδέναι,
Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φέστω, εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,
Προσευξάμεν σε.

And Catullus in his hymn to Diana, after having invoked her under various names, concludes with:

Sis quocunque tibi placet, Sancta, nomine. Cf. also Euripides *Hercul.* Fur. v. 1263 (ed Pflugk): Ζεὺς δ', ὅστις ὁ Ζεὺς, &c. and Plinii *Hist. Nat.* II, 7. *Illud, quidquid est, summum.* The pronouns τὸδ' and τοῦτο of v. 160 may be regarded as accusatives and rendered adverbially: "thus, in this manner," i. e., by this name. *τεκλιμένῳ* is by attraction made to agree with αὐτῷ: "if thus to be called is pleasing to him."

V. 164. οὐκ ἔχω, x. τ. λ. This obscure passage has been the subject of a variety of interpretations and has been rendered differently by nearly every commentator. Schütz,

who mistakes the meaning altogether, cuts the knot by making changes in the text, which are however unsupported by any other edition or manuscript. He reads: *οὐκ ἔχει τις εἰσδεῖν* instead of *οὐκ ἔχω προσεῖδεσθαι*, with reference to *πλήν Διός*. He furthermore changes the *εἰ τὸ μᾶλλον* of v. 165 into *εἰ τὸδ' ἐμῆς* and translates: *Nemo enim possit discernere, etiamsi omnia perpendat, praeter Jovem, utrum hoc meae curae pondus vere oporteat abjicere*. This would make excellent sense, if such liberties could be admitted. Schneider retains the usual reading of the text, and taking *προσεῖδεσθαι* in an absolute sense renders: "I can not institute any comparison (whatever), balancing all things in my mind with the exception of Jove," i. e., although I balance or canvass all things out of (that have their existence apart from) Zeus, yet I cannot compare aught unto him, if sorrow is really to strike the folly of thought (*τὸ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ φροντίδος*), i. e., if punishment is truly to follow foolish or rashly criminal resolves, as was the case, for example, with Agamemnon, whose pusillanimous consent to the immolation of his daughter was destined to meet with a fearful retribution from Jove. According to this rendering the poet's object in this sentence would be to celebrate Zeus as the avenger of temerity and sin. But this idea is far-fetched and has no manifest relation to the context. The Scholiast interprets: *οὐκ ἔχω ὁμοῖόν τι εὑρεῖν τῷ Δί, εἰ χρηὴ ἀλεθῶς ἀποβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς φροντίδος καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ μᾶλλον ἄλλο ἄχθος*, "I can find nothing to compare to Zeus, if there is need of really casting away (of excluding) from further thought the useless weight of other care or speculation," and adds: *τὸ γὰρ περὶ τινῶν ἄλλων διαλογίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἄλλο ἄχθος*.

Blomfield, adopting the general idea of the Scholiast, renders *φροντίδος ἄχθος* by *conjecturae onus*, and refers it to the difficulty on the part for the chorus of finding the proper name of Zeus, as indicated in the preceding sentence. This explanation would read in English: "I can not by comparison find out (*προσεῖδεσθαι*), though I should search the universe around, another name (for the Supreme One), save that of Jove (Zeus), if indeed I may be permitted to

cast away the useless weight of any further conjecture," i. e., solicitude in regard to the nature and name of him who really is God. This interpretation is also adopted by Bothe. Humboldt, however, treating *πλὴν* adverbially and making *Διὸς* remotely dependent on *προσείκασαι*, translates:

Nirgends weiss ich auszuspah'n
Sinnend überall im Geist,
Ausser bei Zeus, ob mit Recht ich vom Herzen die Bürde
Dieser Sorge wälzen darf.
Never can I find it out,
Ever searching in my mind,
Save from Zeus, whether I may justly roll from off my mind
The weight of this solicitude.

Although the first part of this rendering cannot be sustained, yet the conclusion of it is the most natural and most in accordance with the previous import of the choral ode. The term *φροντίδος ἀχθος* has no reference to any anxiety concerning the name or nature of Jove, but designates the solicitude of the chorus in regard to the dark forebodings implied in the prediction of Calchas, which Zeus the Supreme alone is supposed to be able to bring to a happy issue. Hence he becomes the source of hope and is made the object of praise. *προσείκασαι* may therefore be taken in its usual sense and *τι* (or *τινα*) *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* supplied as its objects; *μᾶται*, though an adverb, may be rendered as an adjective, and *ἀπὸ . . . βάλειν* may be read *ἀποβαλλεῖν*. We then translate:

I can compare none unto Him,
Though I may balance all within,
Save Zeus alone, if I may cast (on whom I may cast)
Effectually from off my mind
The idle weight of this solicitude.

V. 167-171. *οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, κ. τ. λ.* The poet now proceeds to celebrate the greatness of Zeus as compared with that of his predecessors, of the powerful enemies and rivals vanquished by his prowess. Several commentators link this sentence to the preceding by expanding the *οὐδ' ὅστις* into *οὐδ' ἔγω προσείκασαι ἐκείνων, ὅστις κ. τ. λ.*, but this is certainly superfluous, if not erroneous, as the

δεινός implied in *δοτις* most obviously refers to *λέξαι* as its predicate. This *λέξαι* is not the infinitive, by which Humboldt has rendered it in his "Kein Erwähnen is das mehr," but the third person singular optative.—The double negative *οὐδ'*—*οὐδέν* is emphatic. The Scholiast refers *δοτις* . . . *ἦν μέγας* to the giants in general and *θρόνου βρύων* to Typhon, the giant *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. But this is an error. Before the time of Jove (*πάρουθεν*) Uranus was the all-powerful deity, strutting with all-conquering assurance, i. e., supported by the Titans, the all-subduing allies and supporters of his throne. He was succeeded by Saturn (*ὅς δ' ἐπειτ' ἔφω*), who reigned during the life-time of Jove, but could not maintain his supremacy against him.

The word *θρόνου* may stand objectively, i. e., not in the sense of courage, confidence, insolence, but that which inspires them, the resources or supports of confidence.—Instead of *οὐδέν ἄν*, others, as for example Haupt, alleging that *ἄν* with the optative is not essential, read *οὐδέ ἔν*, and Schneider puts *οὐδέ δ' ἔν* as in all probability the primitive reading. In explanation of the term *τριακτῆρος* the Scholiast adds: *νικητοῦ· ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς πεντάθλοις ἀποτριάζοντων ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι νίκης*, the victor who in the pentathlon had thrice floored and vanquished his antagonist, here applied to Jove, in order to set forth more forcibly the arduous nature of his contest with his former rival, and the completeness of the victory. With reference to this passage Bothe justly observes: "Magnifice enim Jovis dignitatem poëta efferens nec quid quam ante illum fuisse dicit, et post exortos adversarios ab ipso victos periisse; quapropter, qui Jovis numen colat et ab eo praeclare gesta celebret, illum sapientiae laudem consecuturum esse."

In regard to the grammatical idioms *οἷχεται τυχών* and *λέξαι πρὶν ἄν*, the student will consult his grammar. The entire passage may freely be rendered thus:

Nor could he who erewhile was great,
Exulting in all-warring power,
Say that his might was aught before;
So he who afterwards was born
Met soon in Jove his conqueror.

V. 172. *τις=πᾶς τις*, "Every one, any one."—*Προφρώνως*, *alacriter, libenter, propense*.—The verb *χλάζειν* is commonly followed by the accusative of the immediate or direct object and by the dative of the remote, or of the person. So above v. 157 and 201 below. The poet, however, who is fond of bold and unusual constructions, often puts, as in this instance, *two* accusatives, the one of the person and the other of the thing. Bothe says *ἐπινίκια=ἐπινικίος*, but it is preferable to say *Ζῆνα=Ζητή, Jovem victorem carminibus celebrans*, shouting songs of victory to Jove. The Scholiast explains *τέχεται φρενῶν τὸ πῦν* by *ὁλοσχερῶς φρόνιμος ἔσται*. Bothe with Schneider claims for *φρενῶν* the signification of *laudis sapientiae, Lob der Verständigkeit*, and sustains the definition by a number of parallel passages. Humboldt renders freely and elegantly: "pflücket ganz des Geistes Frucht," culls the fruit of wisdom all (entire).—*τὸ πῦν* is heré the adverbial accusative and = *πάντως, ἐν παντί ἔργῳ*, in all things, in every respect, throughout.

V. 176. *τὸν ὁδῶσάντα*, the participle of nearer definition (usually rendered by a relative clause), agreeing with *Ζῆνα*. *Φροεῖν=ᾧστε (ὅς) φροεῖν, ducentem mortales in viam ita ut sapiant*, i. e., *qui sapere mortales docet*.—*κορίως* and *θέντα* belong together: "Establishing it as a fixed principle, making it an eternal law," or as Humboldt has it: *setzend ewig festbestimmt*.—The subject accusative to *ἔχειν* is *αὐτοῖς*, i. e., *τοὺς βροτοῦς*. Schütz needlessly changes *τῷ πάθει μᾶθος* into *τὸν πάθει μᾶθος*, *z. t. λ., hanc quasi legem sancit, ut quae noceant, eadem et doceant*. The Scholiast explains by *παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*. The phrase seems to be an adage, the origin of which the poet refers to a sovereign decree of Jove: "that they might learn by suffering, be taught by experience." Hence the rendering of Voss: "ihm, der Leid belehrt" als gesetz hat aufgestellt."

V. 179. *σάζει πρὸ καρδίας*, "distills forth from the heart." "*Dicitur dolor: qua imagine saepius utitur Aeschylus, ut graves animi affectus cor quasi incendare, seu in cor stillare dicantur propter sanguinis scilicet effusionem, ejusque in corde nimiam repletionem*." Schütz. The Scholiast adds:

τῷ ἀμαρτάνοντι τοῦτο συμβαίνει, but the chorus probably alludes here especially to Agamemnon, who would be likely to be visited with regret and anguish on account of the immolation of his daughter.—ἐν θ' ὑπνῳ, in sleep even, either by breaking the hours of nocturnal repose or by the visitation of terrific dreams; "*gravissima sententia, nec tamen gravior quam vera.*"—μνηστέμων πόνος, Schuldbewusst Missethatsangst (Humboldt), "guilt-conscious memory of of crime, guilt-remembering anguish."—σωφρονεῖν is here the subject of the verb. An infinitive thus used has commonly the article (τό) before it, but it may stand without it.—παρ' ἀχοντας, *ab invitos*: "*homines enim, divinam facinorum ultionem experti, inviti, h. e., alia nulla ratione dociles, et cum sensu doloris, quo melius caruissent, sapere discunt.*" Schutz.—ἦλθε, though coördinated in the same sentence with σάξει, is in the Aorist, to denote the frequent or general occurrence of the action, "wisdom is wont to come, or often comes." This use of the Aorist is very common among the Greeks, who employ it to designate the frequency or repetition of an action, whenever they speak of a phenomenon, that has often been observed to take place, or when they wish to announce some truth or general proposition, that is founded on individual instances of past experience. In this case the Greek, with his usual well known bent for sensuous objectivity, represents the repeated instances of his past experience instead of the universal axiom or judgment eliminated from them, and only uses the present, when the proposition has either an absolute rational value or has by experience been found to be of universal application at all times and in all places, e. g., ὁ ἄνθρωπος θνητός ἐστι. Cf. Kühner's Ausf. Gramm. § 442.

[To be continued.]

ART. VI.—THE RELATION OF THE HOLY GHOST TO THE NATURAL
WORLD.

The fact that a relation of some kind exists between the Holy Spirit and the Material World ought not to be doubted by any. The difference as to nature between spirit and matter is no reason why they should be sundered either in fact or in our thinking. The visible, in every form of created existence, comes from the invisible, and rests upon it. Thought precedes action, just as action precedes the impression it makes. Spirit and body, in the mysterious constitution of man, are closely related. The form of the second is always conditioned, both minutely and generally, by the peculiar plastic type of the first. The body is the external and visible development from the soul, governed at every point by the primary forces which inhere in the latter. Mysterious as this relation may be, we cannot deny the fact of its existence. Without it man's being, in his present form, would be an impossibility. The dissolution of this relation is death, which leads to a wholly different mode or form of being from that which obtains in the present world.

An intimate relation between spirit and matter may be traced in every impression which man makes upon the hard material world around him. Man, standing in the midst of nature, is yet free and really above it.* The spirit, through the body, moulds nature, and gives completeness

* Horace Bushnell, in his able work *On Nature and the Supernatural*, regards man himself as the embodiment, in a true sense, of the *Supernatural*. On p. 43 he thus speaks: "It is no longer necessary to go hunting after marvels, apparitions, suspensions of the laws of nature, to find the supernatural; it meets us in what is least transcendent and most familiar, even in ourselves. . . . The very idea of our personality is that of a being not under the law of cause and effect, a being supernatural."

to the handiworks of the Almighty. God made all things good; * it is for man, the creature worker, to perfect them. Under him the aspect of earth changes its appearance. The soil becomes rich and mellow; the fruit becomes more abundant and delicious; even the atmosphere, which seems most defiant to the power of man, is modified by the vast changes, in the mountains and vallies, which are made to go forward from the energy of his spirit through the body.†

The same close relation between spirit and matter is adumbrated also in the whole world of art. Thought is the mother of all mechanism. It penetrates the mysterious forces of nature, forms new combinations and thus creates and then guides new powers. Every piece of complicated machinery which now surrounds us, and at which we often stand in mute amazement, existed first in the form of an idea; and the relation of part to part, with a view to some united result, lay in the mind, concealed from observation, before it appeared in actual form. Architecture is but the continued testimony to the same general fact. The magnificent temples and gorgeous palaces, in the past, of which history informs us, as well as all the great structures in the present, both in Europe and this country, which fill us with wonder as we gaze upon them, have originated in the spirit of man—in what Socrates called his demon, and Voltaire, the devil in the body—genius.† So too, the features of the "face divine," which appear in peerless beauty on the canvas—natural and yet above nature—and the rough unmeaning stone that rises up into the form of the human figure, so complete that we almost think we hear human utterances proceeding from it, are direct creations from the spirit of the artist. This intimate relation between spirit and matter is indicated in every form of earthly being; and to ascend at once to the utmost limits of the idea, we may ask, what was the whole of the world previous to the actual going forth of the cre-

* Gen. 1: 31. † Hugh Miller, in his last and best work, *The Testimony of the Rocks*, Sixth Lecture, develops this thought very beautifully.

† M. Cousin's *Lectures on the True, Beautiful and Good*.

ational fiat, but a thought, a scheme in the Divine mind ?

Instead of regarding the difference which exists between spirit and matter as a reason for their being sundered, we are rather required to see in this fact an absolute necessity for their relation in some real sense. Matter, in the form of the world, has neither power to create itself, to give itself order and harmony in the great system of which it is a part, or to continue its being when created and harmonized, independent of a power which is not nature, but spirit. The whole physical system of the world, in connection with that of *all* worlds (pleroma), arises clearly in a self-existent Being, and hangs, with absolute necessity, upon His will every day and hour : and this Being is a Spirit.*

Our first idea of God is that of absolute unity ;† but the mind can not rest here. As God is the source of all life, He must be life itself. But life is *active* by the necessity of its own nature ; hence God is active and eternally active. This activity requires an object adapted to its own nature, infinite as Himself.‡ Hence the eternal unfolding of this unity in the form of Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in essence one, but in personality three, the Son by generation from the Father, and the Spirit by procession from the Father and the Son. By virtue of their oneness in essence each of the Persons is active in the activity of the other. By way of eminence the Scriptures, it is true, assign peculiar acts to one Person, as distinguished from another ; but nowhere do they teach an absolute sundering of the three Persons in any divine act. Tritheism, which involves distinction without unity, personalities without a oneness of essence from which they spring as from an eternal, divine, yet free necessity, is never even intimated in the Revelation of the Divine being. In every act the three

* St. John 4 : 24. "God is a Spirit." *Πνευμα* here is not an attribute of the Divine Being, but His Essence, His Being itself, as distinguished from every thing carnal, or local ; it expresses also His necessary unity, and therefore His indestructibility—the deepest ground of reality.

† Deut. 6 : 4. ‡ Kurtz's Sacred History, p. 23.

Persons are active; but the order of this activity is conditioned by the order of their subsistence.* Each Person is prominent in turn in every great act. Thus creation, by way of preëminence, is ascribed to God the Father,† redemption to God the Son,‡ and sanctification to God the Holy Ghost;|| and yet it remains true that the three Persons, one and indissoluble in essence, are by the force of this unity, simultaneously operative in each of these great acts. In each act there is a department peculiarly appropriate to the agency of each Person.

The original and primary creation of matter, as such, is preëminently ascribed to the first Person in the Holy Trinity. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."§ Yet even here it would be manifestly improper to ignore altogether and in every sense the agency of the other two persons. While God is preëminently prominent, He nevertheless creates *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Ghost. The Father is the *source* of creation, the eternal Son is the *medium*, while the Holy Ghost is the general power in which the whole creation subsists as an objective fact, finds its true order, and becomes vitalized in all its parts.¶ The essential agency of the Word in the creation of the world is clearly indicated in the sacred Scriptures. "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made."†† Corresponding with this we find also the clear passage in Hebrews 11:3: "Through faith we understand that the worlds" (*τοις αἰῶνας*—a grand plural, comprehending the heaven and the earth) "were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." The true and deep sense of the term

* Owen on the Holy Spirit, p. 55. † Jer. 32:17—Heb. 11:3 ‡ Matt. 1:21—Heb. 7:25. || St. John 16:5. 1 Cor. 12:3. § Gen. 1:1. ¶ 1 Cor. 8:6. "To us there is but one God, the Father, of (*ἡ*) whom are all things (*τα πάντα*) and we in Him; one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom (*δι' οὗ* τα πάντα) are all things, and we by him." In Rom. 11:36, the agency of the three Persons is evidently indicated: "Of Him (*ἡ ἀρχὴ*—the Father)," and "through Him (*δι' αὐτοῦ*—the Son), "and to Him, or in Him (*εἰς αὐτόν*—the Spirit) "are all things." †† Psalm 33:6.

"Word," in these passages, is strikingly brought out in St. John's Gospel. "All things" (*πάντα*—worlds, or heaven and earth—corresponding both with the passage in Psalms and that in Hebrews) "were made *by* Him (*δι' αὐτοῦ*); and without Him was not anything made that was made."* Thus throughout, the creation, in its primary elemental form, is regarded as coming *from* (*ἐκ*), or *by* (*υπὸ*) the Father, and *through* the Son.

The Holy Spirit is related to the creation in the same original and necessary way. This is clear from the 33d Ps. 6th v., which has already been quoted in part. "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made: *and all the host of them by the Breath of His mouth.*" By the term "*breath*"—the breath of His mouth—is meant the Holy Ghost—the inbreathing, inspiring third Person in the Trinity, whose agency was no less active than that of the other two Persons, in the original calling into being of the elemental matter of the world. The prince of prophets seemed to see this fact clearly, and the expression which he gave to his vision is at once beautiful and sublime: "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? Who hath directed the *Spirit* of the Lord, or, being His counsellor, hast taught Him."†

This primal act of creation, in which God the Father is most prominent, had regard to matter as such, which, through it was brought into existence from nothing, or rather from the Divine will. At this stage, however, all existed in the form of chaos or confusion. "The earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.‡ In the change of chaos into cosmos the Divine Persons seem to change their position relatively to each other and the creation, and, instead of the Father, the Holy Ghost now comes prominently into view. "The

* St. John 1: 3. † Isa. 40: 12-14. ‡ Gen. 1: 2.

Spirit of God *moved upon the face of the waters;*" and the matter which existed in a state of matted confusion by the primary creative act, began to assume order, and form, and beauty. This was also a creative act, as really and truly so as the former; but, while the one emanated from the Father prominently, the other proceeded prominently from the Holy Ghost; and while matter, as such, was the end of the one, the proper *form* of that matter was the end of the other.

The moving of the Spirit (*merachepheh*) over the chaos was more than a mere external, transient touching of it. The word itself carries in it the idea of a gentle, but at the same time, a powerfully pervasive motion, by which the Spirit's formative influence was made to tremble through the whole chaotic mass. The Spirit penetrated the sea of confusion, communicated heat, life and light, and deposited the living germ of "all those kinds and forms of things, which in an inconceivable variety compose its host and ornament."* Thus each part was mysteriously moved to seek its own appropriate place in the grand system of worlds. General laws and forces, emanating from the Divine Spirit, pervaded the whole, which gave to it the character of a grand and complete organism. To each particle was given an inward affinity for its own kind. The waters sought their own place. "He gathereth the waters of the sea together as a heap: He layeth up the depth in store-houses."† The dry land appeared and assumed its allotted position; while the firmament, with its sun, and moon, and stars rose into a magnificent arch over both. "By His Spirit He hath *garnished* the heavens, His hand hath formed the crooked *serpent*."‡ This creational act of the Spirit carried with it the idea of form to every con-

* Owen on the Holy Spirit, p. 56.

† Ps. 88: 7. ‡ Job. 26: 13. By which some understand the Galaxy, or Milky Way; some the constellation Draco, which to the eye represents the tortuous form of a serpent. Virgil speaks of it as "the sinuous snake," and "the resplendent snake." It was an object of worship in many portions of the heathen world.

ceivable object, from which the whole mass of inert matter unfolded itself into the order and beauty of the cosmos.

In the Holy Ghost, accordingly, we find the power of organization, from which arises the general order which pervades every department of the physical world. "This order, thus so universal, is very diversified. It will not be compressed within the narrow systems which men, founding on a limited experience, are in the way of forming, or suit itself to rigid forms of human logic. It embraces time, number, space, forms, colors, and force, as elements employed, and it blends these together in unnumbered ways. Some times its rule is simple, and at other times of great complicity. It has correspondences, analogies more or less striking, parallelisms and antagonisms. Its numbers are suited to its shapes and colors, and its forms to the position in which they are placed; and with a higher than human art, it weaves its divers colored web and woof into figures of exquisite grace and beauty."* The natural world, thus grandly rising, by the pervasive presence of the Holy Spirit, instinct with harmony in all its parts, is made to exhibit a deep moral, as well as physical, significance.

This was a grand advance in the great creational process. The whole work was raised to a much higher stage, and made to assume a vastly more expressive character. New and higher elements were imparted to it. Light now streamed through every part of the mighty organism. The vital contact and indwelling of the Spirit gave to the natural also a spiritual meaning and mission. Form and order are spiritual, not natural, powers. The whole creation came thus to have not only an aesthetical, and moral, but also a deeply spiritual significance. From every point, and in every object, it looked up to something higher and beyond itself. In Nature itself there was lodged thus the element of the *super-natural*. It was prepared, in no small degree, to speak to the spirit of man, in regard to a spiritual world beyond the present—of the glory of God and hu-

* Rev. James McCosh's *Method of the Divine Government*, p 143-4.

man destiny.* Thus prominently through the agency of the Holy Ghost, was deeply laid the ground of the *Parable* in the constitution of the Natural World, to which Christ so frequently alluded, and the significance of which He so often drew out in such grand and beautiful form. With the permeating presence of the Holy Ghost, the world, in its grand *genesis* into form and order, could not but become a striking revelation of heaven—a many-tongued prophecy (not indeed absolutely commensurate, but still positive and clear as far as it went) of the being of God and the harmony of the heavenly world. Here lies the earthly basis of the “kingdom of God,” the clear setting forth of which is the great end of the *παραβολή*. Nor dare we look upon the happy analogies which lie in the parable as in any sense arbitrary in their nature. The natural and the spiritual belong to each other, as “type and thing typified, by an inward necessity; they were linked together long before by the law of a secret affinity.” Here begins every true system of Natural Philosophy and Natural Theology, for the spiritual in Nature is the key by which the portals of the palace of knowledge are opened. All natural science, to be true to itself, must be true, at the same time, to the world which it seeks to penetrate and lay open; and no science can thus be true, either when it wilfully ignores, or blindly passes by, this great fact; for if it perceive not the spiritual *from* the Spirit, in Nature, though it have ten thousand eyes, it can never see fully either the true or the beautiful, as it lies in the system of creation. From the bosom of this spiritual power the *whole* of Nature adumbrates, at every point, the supernatural and divine. Each object, from the greatest to the most insignificant, becomes typical and prophetic.† Thus “the heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handy work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night shew-

* William Lee *On Inspiration of the Scriptures*, p. 22.

† Richard Chenevix Trench, in his book on *The Parables*, which is deservedly popular both in Europe and this country, after showing that the analogies implied by the parable were not only *illustrative* of spiritual truth, &c.,

eth knowledge."† Even the darkness is made the medium of light and wisdom. Thus, too, "the mountains skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs."‖ And prophecy says, "The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."§

There is evidently more than mere beautiful poetry in all this ; it is the spiritual soul of Nature struggling from her inmost depths to give outward expression to her great life. And is not all this confirmed in the still higher and clearer revelation of the New Testament ? "For the *invisible things*, (*τα ἀόρατα*) of Him from the creation of the world are *clearly seen* (*καθ' ὁρατὴν*), being understood, or perceived (*νοούμενα*) by the *things that are made* (*τοῖς κτισμένοις*), even His eternal power and Godhead."¶ The precise extent of this revelation may indeed be a matter of controversy ; yet all must agree that its general effect was to leave man without

says, p. 18-19: "Their power lies deeper than this, in the harmony unconsciously felt by all men, and by deeper minds continually recognized and plainly perceived, between the natural and the spiritual worlds, so that analogies from the first are felt to be something more than illustrations, happily but yet arbitrarily chosen. They are arguments, and may be alleged as witnesses ; the world of nature being throughout a witness for the world of spirit, proceeding from the same hand, growing out of the same root, and being constituted for that very end. All lovers of truth readily acknowledge these mysterious harmonies, and the force of argument derived from them. To them the things on earth are copies of the things in heaven. They know that the earthly tabernacle is made after the pattern of things seen in the mount, (Ex. xxv. 40 ; 1 Chron. xxviii : 11, 12 ; and the question suggested by the Angel in Milton is often forced upon their meditations,—

"What if earth

Be but the shadow of heaven and things therein

Each to other like, more than on earth is thought ?"

† Ps. 19 : 1, 2. ‖ Ps. 114 : 4. § Isa. 55 : 12. ¶ Rom. 1 : 20 ; with which may also be compared Acts 14 : 15, &c., 17 : 23, &c. In regard to the first passage Calvin remarks : "Deus per se invisibilis est, sed quia elucet ejus majestas in operibus et creaturis universis, debuerunt illico homines agnoscere, nam artificem suum perspicue dedarant." Bengel, in his *Gnomon of the N. T.*, distinguishes between *θεωρεῖν* et *θεωρῆναι*, the first signifying *divinity*, the latter *Godhead*. Divinity connected with power (*δυναμὶς*)—God's perfection in *being* and *acting*, is regarded as the peculiar burden of revelation in the work of creation.

excuse. This is clearly the moral of the whole verse: "So that they" (the heathen) "are without excuse." The force of this will be fully perceived, if, with this revealing power of Nature through the Holy Ghost, we connect the deeper consciousness of spiritual things in man, than that which strictly belongs to his individuality, which has been communicated to him in the same way, and by the same Spirit.* Between the world within and the world without there was a very intimate relation. Man was not only qualified subjectively to meet the spiritual revelation that stood out objectively in the World of Nature, but he was also mysteriously drawn to it by the supernatural tendencies of his own being. Thus, through the creational agency of the Holy Ghost, a moral, intelligent and spiritual character was given to the whole system of Creation, making it to mirror, in a high degree, both the divinity of its origin and the spiritual as well as natural and moral mission with which it was invested.

What interval of time separated between the creation of matter as such, under its elemental, chaotic form, and the creation of form and order, with all their cosmical relations and aesthetical, moral and spiritual bearings, we are not concerned now particularly to inquire into. Whether this was brief or extended, a minute or an age, is immaterial to the present subject; only care should be taken to avoid the idea of separate acts and separate creations. Whatever length of time, for the human mind, may hold between the two effects, these effects grow from one and the same act—the one is but the proper form of the other. It is not possible, in any ideal way, to separate here abstractly between matter and form. This were to split the creation by a dualistic wedge, which would destroy all its meaning. Creation was a true historical act—a *genesis*, carrying in it the same divine act from stage to stage—through which God revealed Himself gradually, first in the rude elemental state of matter, then through the Holy Ghost, in its or-

* Rom. 2: 14-16.

ganization, form and order, until the whole stood forth as the finished work of the Holy Trinity, with the principle of unity pervading it throughout; so that while nature abounds with the types of three divine personalities, its organic oneness, being equally omnipresent to the observant mind, proclaims also the essential unity of these personalities in One God. In the beginning of this creational process, as also in the New or spiritual Creation, God the Father was the most prominent Person—in the completing of it, as also in the spiritual creation, God the Holy Ghost was the most prominent—and both proceeded through the same creative medium, God the Son. Thus, by the Holy Ghost, was concluded, completed and perfected, in the natural world, what had been commenced by the Father.*

But just as we see creation rising and approximating its ultimate perfection, so we behold the Divine Spirit coming forward conspicuously in the grand scene. In man it culminates and comes to its highest moral and spiritual meaning. He is its lord, and to his power it is subjected. Its whole significance centres in his consciousness, and thence it is reflected upon every object around him. Strange that unbelievers, who extol Nature as the all-sufficient revelation from God, and of God, should be found detracting man's dignity in the creation, and thus actually confusing for themselves the rays of light and knowledge, by destroying the harmony of God's works, which it would otherwise pour upon them.† But this is only another evidence of

* Owen on the Holy Spirit, p. 55. † "The school of infidelity represented by Bolingbroke, and, in at least his earlier writings, by Soame Jenyns, and which, in a modified form, attained to much popularity through Pope's famous 'Essay,' assigned to man a comparatively inconsiderable space in the system of the universe. It regarded him as a single link in a chain of mutual dependency,—a chain which would be no longer an entire, but a broken one, were he to be struck out of it, but as thus more important from his position than from his nature or his powers. You will remember that one of the sections of Pope's first epistle to his 'good St. John' is avowedly devoted to show what he terms the 'absurdity of man's supposing himself the final cause of creation;' and though this great master of condensed and brilliant point is now less read than he was in the days of our grandfathers, you will all remember the elegant stanzas in which he states the usual claims of the

the chaos of the mind itself when the faith, which it is the office of the Spirit to form, is absent, which, in a child-like disposition, takes God at His word.

In the creation of man—the finishing wonder of the whole work—a copy of the Trinity in his distinction into body, soul and spirit, the peculiar agency of the Holy Ghost comes still more fully and clearly to light. But here, also, the first Person in the Godhead is most prominent in the primary stage of the act. “And God said, Let us make man in our own image, and after our own likeness.”* “The natural aspects of man’s being are given in the 2nd chapter and 7th verse: “And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.” As to his body he was made of the “dust of the ground;” not only, as some suppose, to show its mean origin, and thus to teach him humility; but, first and prominently, that he might thus be organically related to the whole system of nature below him, that he might truly be its prophet and lord; and, second, that he might bear about with him continually the sure signs of his mortality as to the present stage of human being, and a token of a higher destiny in the future world. While man is thus an organic part of the material world—related to it as the head is to the body—he is, by necessity, subject to all its manifold changes. Dust or sand—composing his body, which is constantly, by its own nature, changing the relation of its

species only to ridicule. It is human pride personified that he represents as exclaiming,”—

“For me kind Nature wakes her genial power,
Suckles each herb, and spreads out every flower,
Annual for me the grape, the rose, renew
The juice nectarious and the balmy dew:
For me the mine a thousand treasures brings;
For me health gushes from a thousand springs;
Beas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise;
My footstool earth, my canopy the skies.”

Testimony of the Rocks, p. 224.

* Gen. 1: 26.

particles to each other, is the most impressive type that could be selected vividly to set forth the idea of disintegration, decay and death. This was man's nature prior to sin, which made it look with a steady, though not a gloomy, necessity, to the point of its change. While it is true that the words "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return,"* were uttered after the entrance of sin, and doubtless looked primarily to sin, yet, pointing as they did to the peculiar nature of man's physical constitution, made of dust, and then referring to dust as the final element into which it should again be resolved, we cannot but regard them as comprehending the more general and natural, as well as the more special and moral, causes of death. The last clause of the sentence seems to grow by a natural necessity out of the first: because thou *art* dust, therefore thou must again *return* to dust. In this dust-constitution lies the general cause of death. Take this in connection with the clear evidences, furnished by Geology, that death existed in the world previous, long previous to the creation of man, and we shall find it very difficult, nay, impossible, to ignore the natural cause of death. Yet it is equally impossible to overlook, at the same time, the more specific cause, as this lies in the power of sin. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."† "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."‡ That sin and death are here related as cause and effect, is too self-evident to require proof. But does this particular cause necessarily rule out the cause which is general and which so plainly lies in the constitution of nature itself? We think not. Various theories have been devised, by which to harmonize the two apparently antagonizing facts. Dr. J. Pye Smith, admitting the mortality in the physical organization of man, contended that, by means unknown to the human mind, he would have been exempted from the law of progress towards dissolution, had he maintained his

* Gen. 3: 19. † Gen. 2: 17. ‡ Rom. 5: 12.

primeval innocence. Jeremy Taylor says, "that the death which God threatened to Adam, and which passed upon his posterity, is not the going out of this world, but the manner of going." It is easily conceived that the death which was in the world previous to sin, and which would doubtless have passed upon all men even had they remained in their innocence, was a very different death, both in kind and manner, from that which was subsequently the result directly of transgression. The first was natural, easy and calm, entirely separated from the displeasure and curse of God; while the second is unnatural, painful and distressing. In the latter sense sin alone is the cause of death; in the former the cause is anterior to the fall, embedded, for wise purposes, and doubtless gracious purposes also, in the physical constitution of man itself.

The nature of man carried in it the necessity of rising to a higher sphere of being than the present world in order fully to develop its original powers. The purpose to raise man to this higher sphere was also clearly in the mind of God. Heaven was not constituted as the ultimate home of man only after his removal from the present world was made necessary by sin. It lay in the original purpose of God. But in order to rise to this home it would have been necessary for man to undergo a great change in the nature of his being, fitting him for this higher order of life. This change would have been death—a ceasing to exist in one state and one form, and a beginning to exist in another state and another form. In this sense even Enoch and Elijah died, although it is said of them that they did not taste death, i. e., the death produced by sin; for no one would suppose that their bodies were taken to heaven in precisely the same form as that in which they existed on earth. This change, whatever it might be (and of its minute nature we can, of course, know very little) though not the same thing with death resulting from sin, being entirely destitute of the moral elements which enter into and compose it, would nevertheless, as a medium, have doubtless led to the same high end, unless, indeed, we imagine,

as many do, that through a sinful experience, we should become qualified for a still higher state of glory.* For the difference would certainly not result from the fact, that in the latter case we become vitally connected with Christ, and that in the former we should not have come into such relationship. This latter supposition is altogether gratuitous; for, whether we look to the nature of man, or to the peculiar primary constitution of the second Person in the Holy Trinity, we must conclude, that such a union would have been effected, though manifestly under very different form and circumstances. The material ground of humility, thus placed by an original act of creation, in the constitution of man, would therefore, as in the case of all true humility, have involved in it ascending forces, by which he would have risen to a higher order of nature and a more glorious form of being.

Just as in nature generally, so in the body of man in particular, its peculiar organization and form result directly from the agency of the Holy Ghost. In the Psalm in which David, overwhelmed with wonder in view of the immensity of God, asked—"Whither shall I go from thy Spirit," he said, further on, "Thou hast possessed my reins: thou hast covered me in my mother's womb. I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from thee when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of

* If any such benefit could legitimately arise from the existence of sin as such, this would certainly go very far towards the justification of its entrance and continuance. Sin—which in its nature is the direct negation of all good—can of course have no such virtue; and whatever good man may attain to through it, will be attained to in spite of it, by the still deeper, stronger and more abounding grace of God through Jesus Christ. Rom. 5: 15-21. Sin can only destroy, and the grace of God in Christ only can save; so that sin, whatever service it may be made to render the Christian life by the overruling power of God, must still only be execrated and abhorred.

them."* This finishing or fashioning, in the way of giving form and order to the various parts of the human body, so that, when man surveys himself, he must feel that he is "fearfully and wonderfully made"—"made a little lower than the angels,"** was the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit.

But the complete being of man involves higher and finer material than the "dust of the ground." While from below he takes his body, from above he receives his life. "God breathed into his nostrils the *breath of life*; and man became a *living soul*."† In this higher region of man's being the Holy Ghost—though always in perfect unison with the other two persons—is specially prominent. The Breath of God, and the Spirit of God, are the same thing. The creation of both body and soul is sometimes ascribed to the Holy Spirit; as for instance, "The Spirit of God hath made me, and the Breath of the Almighty hath given me life."‡ If the Spirit was prominent in the completing touches of the physical part of man's nature, making it to stand out in bold and wonderful contrast with the inanimate dust from which it was taken as we have already seen; this relation was still more direct and intimate to his inner life. This life was a part of the Spirit's self—a spiritual, immaterial, simple principle—the *Breath of God*. Thus, by the original creation already, the body was, in a deep sense, "the temple of the Holy Ghost."§ Christianity seeks, in this respect, only to restore, may be in fuller measure, what man originally possessed, but lost through the Fall. As by it the Holy Ghost is again brought back into the body, as the principle of its true and higher life—

* Ps. 139: 7, 13-16.

** Ps. 8: 5. Heb. 2: 7, 8, 9.

† Lic. K. A. Kahnis, in his *Lehre Vom Heiligen Geiste*, which is certainly not free from the charge of strong Pantheistic tendency, says, p. 17: "In allen Menschen waltet also der Geist Gottes als Geist des Lebens (1 Mos. 6, 3. 4 Mos. 27, 16), damit der Mensch nicht vom Fleische beherrscht (1 Mos. 6: 3.) als Geist sich auf sein Urbild zurück beziehe, sein Geist also Träger eines guten Geistes werde."

‡ Job 33: 4.

§ 1 Cor. 6: 19.

a life altogether natural in the normal state of man—the inference is necessary, that the human body was, at the first, His earthly temple. God breathed *into* him the breath of life; and he became a *living soul*.

The soul of man, though the immediate result of the *divine breath* breathed into him, which is the *Spirit* of God, is yet not to be pantheistically confounded with the Spirit, or in any way to be regarded as identical. Man is thereby not the Spirit—though spiritual—nor is the Spirit thereby man. Linked thus, in the innermost depths of his nature, with the Holy Ghost, and the spiritual world, man is yet specifically different from this divine Person, but qualified thereby, in a high degree, for all His gifts.* “The soul is the unity of the spirit and body, the individual life and finiteness of the Spirit.”† In the soul arise individuality and personality; and though it may not be absolutely immortal in itself considered, (as this belongs to God alone,‡ and is His special gift through Jesus Christ,§ it is still capable of existing independent of the body. Here opens the whole inner world of consciousness, in its relation to self (ego), the physical world with all its moral and aesthetical forces, in the midst of which man lives, and the spiritual world which reigns above him. United organically, on the one side, through his body, to the whole of natural existence beneath him, he is no less really united, on the other, through his spirit, with the whole of spiritual being above him—both centering and uniting in the soul. What an extended range of thought and feeling! What various forces, from every direction, converge in man! What a condensed fulness of mysterious elements of thought is thus made to crowd his consciousness! No wonder that

* In this fact lies the natural basis of inspiration as an extraordinary gift. The theory of Mr. Morell, and others, who make inspiration to consist in an exalted state of the intuitional faculties, is not wholly in error, however far short it may come of the full truth. While inspiration is *supernatural*, it is not *unnatural*, the way, in nature, being prepared for it already in the original creation, by the Holy Ghost.

† Nitzsch's System of Christ. Doct., p. 202. ‡ 1 Tim. 6: 18—16. § 2 Tim. 1: 10. Comp. Gen. 3: 22, 23.

he should be rated, in the wondrous nature of his being, as well as in his central position in the complicated web of existence, as a *little* lower than the angels. All this was effected prominently through the agency of the Holy Ghost—the Breath in-breathed into man's being, whereby, amid all the ten thousand strong and far-reaching relations he sustained both to existence above, beneath and around him, he yet rose up into a self-hood more free and perfect than that perhaps of any other creature of God.

Nor does the agency of the Holy Ghost with man stop here. Moral rectitude ; conformity to God in disposition and spirit ; holiness and spiritual knowledge, are direct fruits of the indwelling creative Spirit. These are all comprehended in the *image*, or *similitude* in which he was created.* Here the Spirit indicates man's true destiny, which is to know Him of whom, and by whom he is,† to love himself and all his fellow men, and to become blessed in the communion of God, saints and angels. Since the fall it is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost to restore to the moral consciousness of man the full force of all this ; and in this fact His prominent agency in its original gift is fully established.‡ The peculiar relation of the Spirit to the New Creation, which now is made to stand out in broad contrast with the Old, is at every point confirmatory of the truth now presented. The New Creation originated in the Father, was brought to its elementary existence in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost it came to full, living, organized form, in the bosom of the old creation, in order that the whole world of being, which had fallen by sin, might again be restored to its true character and position. The creation of the Church by the Spirit amid the wonders of Pentecost, was not a creation out of nothing, but in Christ, and through Christ—the organization and form-giving of His generic life and works, so that it became "His Body" and was made to carry with it, and in

* Gen. 1: 27. James 3: 9.
 † Acts 17: 27. John 17: 3. ‡ St. John
 3: 6. 2 Cor. 3: 18.

it the "fulness of Him which filleth all in all."* And in all the practical individual, as well as collective detail of the Christian life, the Holy Ghost, in the New Testament, is set forth as the Creator of form and order, as the Inspirer, the Finisher, the Sanctifier.

The original relation of the Holy Ghost to the Natural World has at no point in its long history ceased to exist, any more than the relation of the Father and Son. The world's preservation, inasmuch as it requires the active energy of the same divine powers as those by which it was first called into being and formed, must be regarded in the light of a continued act of creation. Preservation is the legitimate history, from day to day, and year to year, of creation; which involves the same intimate relation of the Trinity at every point. Specially prominent, however, in this work, is the Holy Spirit, for the obvious reason, that preservation has more direct regard to the form and order, or harmony of the world, than to the matter of which it is composed. The inspired utterance in reference to the continued dependence of nature, in every view, but especially in its formal character, upon the Divine presence under its distinctive form, is both pointed and beautiful. "Thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth."† The peculiar form of nature is the direct creation of the Holy Ghost, and He preserves what He originally produced. The regular order of the planets; the stated return of the seasons; the harmony of the whole of animate and inanimate nature,—all depends prominently upon the continued inherent presence of the Holy Spirit, who at the first moved over chaos and formed it into cosmos. Should the Spirit, at any time, abandon the great structure of the universe, we have reason to believe that its order would at once be broken, and that throughout the immensity of space, worlds would dash on worlds, and systems on systems, until all would

* Eph. 1: 22, 23. Comp. 4: 11-16. † Ps. 104: 29, 30.

be reduced again to the dark confusion from which they were made to arise.

True, nature—to be nature—must have a self-hood—a *proprium*—a power of self-subsistence, in some real sense ; otherwise it would not be a nature. But we can well see how easily, at this point, we may step over from the green and living earth, enshrining the omnipotent agency of the Divine Being, into the bleak regions of Atheism, and conceive or dream of a world without God. Whether Prof. Taylor Lewis, in his very learned and generally clear work, on the *Bible and Science*, or *The World Problem*, does not strongly tend in this direction, will at least admit of some little fear.* He does not, indeed, sever God from His works, in so many words, but does he not make His relation to them to be of such an outside and distant character, as to induce the conclusion that, if it be nothing *more*, it need not even be this? The true self hood of nature implies just as little power to continue its existence from itself, as to begin its existence from nothing ; for beyond the Divine Preserving hand nothing exists just as truly as it does beyond His creative hand. The Professor very frankly acknowledges the difficulty of the position to which his theory leads him, and seeks to find a solution of it in the "higher laws of thinking." But whether a door of escape can be found here is at least very doubtful. If the theory should happen to involve a *contradiction* (which it certainly would do in case it were carried to the point of

* "We must, in some way," says the Professor, "have a self-subsistence in nature, as something given to nature, and which God could give to nature, whether we can explain the method and the rationale of it or not. There may be this self-hood, and yet God the supporting ground, as he is the supporting ground even of spirit. We may not be able to explain the difference between this supporting ground and a constant immediate energizing in every act of nature, but such difference there must be, whether we can see it, and understand it, or not. The proof is in the higher laws of thinking, we say again. There must be a nature, or we fall into a pantheism where the moral and physical both perish. But a nature, as such, can be thought in no other way. Therefore there is a nature having a life of its own, a subsistence of its own, imparted to it,—a nature in some true sense going of itself,—and, therefore, having both growth and deterioration." pp. 342-3.

self-being, in the strict sense, then, plainly, the *higher laws of thinking*, instead of involving it as a necessity, to be adhered to even when all ability to explain it fails, would, in the same necessary way, exclude it, whatever extraneous evidence there might be to sustain it. The self-hood of nature does not, in the consciousness of man, require an abstract separation of the Divine. Mr. Lewis acknowledges this by allowing God to be its "ground," as He is also the ground of Spirit. But this, in his mind, is merely outward, an outward contact, conceived as a necessity whereby to avoid contradiction on the one hand, and Pantheism on the other. If, however, the dependence of the world upon God as its *ground* does not militate against its proper self-hood, then we cannot see why a maintenance of it by His pervasive presence, agreeably to His attribute of omnipresence, should do this: and to avoid the heresy of Pantheism, which makes God and the world *identical*, it is surely not necessary to launch into the opposite heresy of Atheism, which, to say the least, is equally abhorrent and dangerous. The truth here, as elsewhere, lies in *media*. God is in nature really, but is specifically different from nature; He pervades it in every department, but is never, to any degree, or in any sense, one with it. Nature is nature—God is God, however close and necessary the relation which holds between them. Heat, though it permeate every particle of the iron, is yet not the iron. Here is the world's true self-hood, entirely unmixed with divinity; and here is divinity entirely unmixed with the world, while the relation between the two is, at the same time, most inward and real. Thus the world is preserved in all its parts from day to day, both in matter and form, by the united agency of the Trinity, *in* it, and not *out* of it, and not by any self-power resting mechanically on God as its ground.

The same facts hold also in the human world, which carries in it, in a still higher sense, the idea of self-hood. The continuance of the race from age to age, in its original form, physically and intellectually, is peculiarly the work of the Holy Ghost. The law of generation, and the order

of thought result directly from His power, and are maintained by His presence; and the relation between subjective thinking and objective thought, between finite conceptions and infinite ideals, depends absolutely upon His immanent presence and continued inspiring agency in the soul of man.* But we cannot now tarry at this point.

He reigns prominently, also, in history. If this is regarded as the proper on-going of the world under its cosmical conditions and relations, we can easily see how central and necessary is the agency of the Holy Spirit in it. Who but He has preserved the moral and governmental harmony of the world since its origin, with all the abnormal forces of the fall to the contrary? Who but He has renewed its wasting energies and maintained it in the vigor of a perennial youth and beauty? Who but He has continued that admirable adjustment of power throughout the nations, which has been the basis of peace, brotherhood and prosperity?—And who but He, when the original forces of chaos have momentarily broken through the laws of order, and anarchy, tyranny and oppression have proudly asserted their right to reign over the world, has qualified the little minority to chastise the impudence, correct the evil and restore the harmony? The world has been led forward, in its progressive development, by the principle of *might*, and in the Holy Ghost, *might is right*—not, in-

* Acts 17: 28. 'Εν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν, καὶ κινουμέθα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὢς καὶ ῥισὶς τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς νοεῖν αἰνεῖται' Τὸ γὰρ καὶ γινώσκειν. On this verse Olshausen, in his *Commentary*, Vol. IV. p. 565, says: "This nearness of God; even to the creature that is estranged from him, the Apostle describes in a very impressive manner. The divine Being is plainly with him the immanent ground of all creatures, in some measure the sea of life, in which they all move. Fear of a pantheistic view of the world has led men, though without any reason, to refine upon the expression, *ἐν αὐτῷ*, and to understand it in the sense of 'by him.' The whole of the sacred Scriptures exhibits, as Paul does here, one God who is inwardly near to man; yea, whose eternal word speaks in the bottom of his heart." Cyprian says: "We are in the Father, we live in the Son, and have motion and make progress in the Holy Ghost." *Er*, says Bengel, "expresses the most efficacious presence flowing from the most intimate tie of connection."

deed, the might of the world's cohorts, as such, but the underlying might resulting from the Spirit's omnipotence. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong ;"† and history itself has embalmed the truth, that it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit,"‡ that being is continued - and that form and order, righteousness and peace are upheld and promoted in the earth. The agency of the Holy Spirit in the world, though quiet as the gentle breeze that softly steals among the rustling leaves and pendent flowers, or tenderly tosses to and fro the golden locks that cluster in beauty round the brow of the little maiden, is nevertheless, connected with Divine Providence, a present power, vastly greater than the heaving earthquake, more consuming than the raging fire, and more terrible than any storm that has ever swept over sea or land. He that mysteriously brooded over the elemental chaos of the world, and by His indwelling presence developed its magnificent form, and filled it with harmony, will continue His work, according to the divine promise, until the whole shall result in a new heaven and a new earth ; when all abnormal forces shall be completely crushed, and righteousness shall reign with an undisputed right and illimitable sway.

D. G.

† Ec. 9: 11. ‡ Zech. 4: 6.

ART. VII.—SLAVERY AND THE BIBLE.

THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.

The Bible, which we acknowledge as the infallible source and supreme rule in matters of religion and morals, commences with the highest and noblest view of man by representing him as the bearer of the image of God and placing him at the head of the whole creation. The divine image, whatever it may be besides, necessarily implies the idea of personality, that is reason and will, or intelligence and freedom. By these inestimable gifts man is far elevated above the brute, reflects the glory of his Maker, and is capable of communion with Him.

With this primitive conception and condition of man slavery or involuntary and perpetual servitude is incompatible. It has no place in paradise. God created man male and female, and thus instituted marriage and the family relation before the fall, but not slavery. The only slave then could have been Eve, but she was equally the bearer of the divine image and the loving and beloved partner of Adam. In the language of a distinguished English commentator, "the woman was made of a rib out of the side of man; not made out of his head, to top him—not out of his feet, to be trampled upon by him—but out of his side, to be equal with him—from under his arm, to be protected—and from near his heart to be beloved."

But man fell from his original state by the abuse of his freedom in an act of disobedience, and was consequently driven from paradise. Sin is the first and worst kind of slavery, and the fruitful source of every other intellectual, moral, and physical degradation. In this sense every sinner is a slave to his own appetites and passions, and can only attain to true freedom by the Christian salvation. Hence the Saviour says: "Whosoever committeth sin is the serv-

ant (*doulos*, slave) of sin.... If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." (John viii. 34-36.)

Slavery then takes its rise in sin, and more particularly in war and the law of brute force. Lust of power, avarice and cruelty were the original motives, kidnapping, conquest in war, and purchase by money were the original methods, of depriving men of their personal freedom and degrading them to mere instruments for the selfish ends of others.

But when the institution was once generally introduced, most slaves were born such and were innocently inherited like any other kind of property. Slaveholding became an undisputed right of every freeman and was maintained and propagated as an essential part of the family among all the ancient nations. In many cases also freemen voluntarily sold themselves into slavery from extreme poverty, or lost their freedom in consequence of crime.

THE CURSE OF NOAH.

Slavery, like despotism, war, and all kinds of oppression, existed no doubt long before the deluge, which was sent upon the earth because it was "filled with violence" (Gen. vi. 11). But it is not expressly mentioned till after the flood, in the remarkable prophecy of Noah, uttered more than four thousand years ago and reaching in its fulfilment, or at least in its applicability, even to our time and country. Bishop Newton, in his "Dissertations on the Prophecies," calls it "the history of the world in epitome." It is recorded in Genesis ix. 25-27, and in its metrical form according to the Hebrew reads as follows:

25. "Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants* shall he be unto his brethren.
26. Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem;
And Canaan shall be a servant unto them.
27. God shall enlarge Japheth,

* עבד עבדים, *ebbed abhadim*, i. e., the meanest or lowest of servants; a Hebrew form of intensifying the idea, as in the expressions *king of kings*, *holy of holies*, *song of songs*.

And he (Japheth) shall dwell in the tents of Shem ;
And Canaan shall be a servant unto them."†

Noah, a preacher of righteousness before the flood, speaks here as a far-seeing inspired prophet to the new world after the flood. He pronounces a curse thrice repeated upon one of his grandsons, and a blessing upon two of his sons, yet with regard not so much to their individual as their representative character, and looking to the future posterity of the three patriarchs of the human family. Ham, the father of Canaan, represents the idolatrous and servile races; Shem, the Israelites who worshipped Jehovah, the only true and living God; Japheth, those gentiles, who by their contact with Shem were brought to a knowledge of the true religion. The curse was occasioned by gross indecency and profane irreverence to the aged Noah. It was inflicted upon Canaan, the youngest of the four sons of Ham, either because he was, according to an ancient Jewish tradition, the real offender, and Ham merely the reporter of the fact, or more probably because he made sport of his grandfather's shame when seen and revealed by Ham to his brothers, and was the principal heir of the irreverence and impiety of his father. But Ham was also punished in his son who was most like him, as he had sinned against his father.* The whole posterity of Canaan was included in the curse because of their vices and wickedness (Levit. xviii. 24, 25), which God foresaw, yet after all with a merciful design as to their ultimate destiny.

† יֶפֶת׃ יֹשֵׁב בְּאֶוֶן שֵׁם, *ebbed lamo, a servant to them*, i. e., either to Shem and his posterity (as Hengstenberg takes it), or better to both Shem and Japheth which agrees best with "*unto his brethren*" v. 25. The English version, Luther and many others translate in v. 26. and 27. "*his (Shem's) servant*," and Ewald (Hebrew Grammar p. 459) asserts that *amo* may sometimes denote the singular, referring to Ps. xi. 7; Job xxii. 2; Deut. xxxii. 2 and Is. xl. 15. But Hengstenberg (in the second German edition of his Christology of the O. T. i. 32) maintains that *amo*, like *am*, of which it is only a fuller poetical form, signifies always the plural.

* Some manuscripts of the Septuagint or Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures read "*Ham*" for *Canaan*, and the Arabic version "*the father of Canaan*," in the three verses of this prophecy.

The malediction of Noah was first fulfilled, on a large national scale, about eight hundred years after its delivery, when the Israelites, the favorite descendants of Shem, subdued the Canaanites, under the leadership of Joshua and under divine direction, and made some of their tribes "bondmen and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God" (Joshua ix. 23-27). It was further fulfilled, when Solomon subdued the scattered remnants of those tribes (1 Kings ix. 20, 21; 2 Chron. viii. 7-9). Thus Canaan came under the rod of Shem. But he was also to be a servant to Japheth ("unto his brethren," v. 25, "unto them," v. 26 and 27). Under this view the prediction was realized in the successive dominion of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, all descendants of Japheth, over the Phenicians and Carthaginians, who belong to the posterity of Canaan. The blessing of Noah was likewise strikingly fulfilled in the subsequent course of history reaching down to the introduction of Christianity. Shem was the bearer of the true religion before Christ. Japheth dwelled in the tents of Shem, literally, by conquering his territory under the Greeks and Romans, and spiritually, by the conversion of his vast posterity to the Christian religion which proceeded from the bosom of Shem. It is true here in the highest sense that the conquered gave laws to the conquerors.

But in point of fact both the curse and the blessing of Noah extend still further and justify a wider historical application. The curse of involuntary servitude, which in the text is confined to the youngest son of Canaan because of his close contact with the Israelites, has affected nearly the whole of the posterity of Ham, or those unfortunate African races which for many centuries have groaned and are still groaning under the despotic rule of the Romans, the Saracens, the Turks, and even those Christian nations who engaged in the iniquity of the African slave trade. Whether we connect it with this ancient prophecy or not, it is simply a fact which no one can deny, that the negro to this day is a servant of servants in our own midst. Japheth, on the other hand, the progenitor of half the human

race, who possesses a part of Asia and the whole of Europe, is still extending his posterity and territory in the westward course of empire, and holds Ham in bondage far away from his original home and final destination.

Slavery then is represented from the start as a punishment and a curse and is continued as such from generation to generation for these four thousand years, falling with special severity upon the African race, and involving the innocent with the guilty. A dark veil still hangs over this dispensation of Providence, which will be lifted only by the future pages of history. God alone, in his infinite wisdom and mercy, can and will settle the negro question by turning even a curse into a blessing and by overruling the wrath of man for his own glory. All his punishments have a disciplinary object and remedial character. The prophecy of Noah, it is true, has no comfort for poor Canaan, and no blessing for Ham. But David already looked forward to the time when "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God" (Ps. lxxviii. 31). The new dispensation gives us more light and hope and solves the mysteries of the old. The Gospel of Christ who praised the faith of a daughter of Canaan (Matth. xv. 28) and who died for all races, classes and conditions of man, authorizes us to look forward to the ultimate salvation of the entire posterity of Ham through the agency of Japheth and the severe but wholesome discipline of slavery. As Japheth dwelled in the eastern tents of Shem and was converted to his faith, so we may say that Ham dwells in the western tents of Japheth and is trained in America for his final deliverance from the ancient curse of bondage by the slow but sure operation of Christianity both upon him and his master, and for a noble mission to the entire mysterious continent of Africa.

PATRIARCHAL SLAVERY.

We next meet slavery as an established domestic institution among the patriarchs of the Jewish nation, as will appear from the following passages:

Gen. xii. 16: "And Abram had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses and camels."

Gen. xiv. 14: "And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen."

Gen. xvii. 23: "And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house (slaves by birth), and all that were bought with his money (slaves by purchase), every male among the men of Abraham's house; and circumcised the flesh of their fore-skin in the selfsame day, as God had said unto him."

Gen. xx. 14: "And Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and women-servants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored him Sarah his wife."

Gen. xxiv. 35: "And the Lord hath blessed my master (Abraham) greatly: and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold, and men-servants and maid-servants, and camels, and asses."

Gen. xxvi. 14: "He (Isaac) had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants: and the Philistines envied him."

Gen. xxx. 43: "And the man (Jacob) increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid-servants, and men-servants, and camels, and asses."

Gen. xxxii. 5: "And I (Jacob) have oxen, and asses, flocks, and men-servants, and women-servants."

Compare Job i. 3: "His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and a very great household," (literally: very many servants; German: *grosse Dienerschaft*.)

The Hebrew term employed here and throughout the Old Testament generally for servants,* is not necessarily degrading, like our *slave*; on the contrary *ebhed* means originally *laborer*, *worker*, and work was no disgrace among a people whose kings and prophets were called from the flock and the plough; yea, it is used in innumerable passages in the most honorable sense and applied to messengers of kings, to angels, to Moses, the prophets and the highest officers of the theocracy, in their relation to God. But in its usual literal sense it is universally understood to mean

* עֶבֶד, *ebhed* (from the verb עָבַד, *abhad*, first to labor; then to serve, either man or God), plural עֲבָדִים, *abhadim*, for male servants; and שִׁפְחָה, *shiphcha*, plural שִׁפְחוֹת, *shephchoth*, or שִׁפָּה, *amah*, and שִׁפְחָה, *amahoth*, for female servants. The latter terms express the close connection with the family.

bond servants in distinction from *hired* or voluntary servants, who were comparatively rare among ancient nations and are but seldom mentioned in the Old Testament.* The slaves here spoken of were either born in the house (called *jelide baiith*) or purchased by money (*miknath cheseph*, Gen. xvii. 23), and owned in large numbers by the patriarchs and the patriarchal Job without any sense of guilt or impropriety on their side, and without a mark of disapprobation on the side of God. Their usual enumeration and collocation with sheep, oxen, asses and camels, although less degrading than Aristotle's definition of a slave as a "living tool," or "animated possession,"† is very offensive to our modern ear and to our Christian taste, and shows the difference between the Old Testament and the New, where they are never mentioned in such connection. In one passage the servants are even put between the he-asses and the she-asses, in another between the cattle and the camels, and in a third between the gold and the camels.

But we have no right at all to infer from this fact that the patriarchs regarded and treated their servants no better than their favorite animals. Their whole character and religion justifies the opposite conclusion. They bought, but, as far as the record goes, they never sold any of their slaves. There is no trace of a slave traffic in the Old Testament. The patriarchal servitude was free from the low mercenary aspect, the spirit of caste and the harsh treatment, which characterized the same institution among all the heathen nations. It was of a purely domestic character and tempered by kindness, benevolence and a sense of moral and religious equality before God. This appears from the high

* The Hebrew term for *hired* servant is עֶבֶד חָרָד, Ex. xii. 45 compared with 44; xlii. 14; Levit. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14; Job. vii. 2. Josephus (*Antiquities* iv. 8, 38) explains the Jewish law as to hired servants thus: "Let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the laborer of the immediate use of what he has labored for."

† Ὁππότε ζῶν, ἢ ὥσπερ ἰμπεριον.

confidence which Abraham reposed in Eliezer (Gen. xv. 2; xxiv. 2 ff.), and all those slaves whom he entrusted with arms (xiv. 14; comp. xxxii. 6; xxxiii. 1), and still more from the significant fact that he circumcised them (Gen. xvii. 23, 27), and thus made them partakers of the blessings and privileges of the covenant of Jehovah by divine direction (v. 12, 13).

JEWISH SLAVERY.

Between the patriarchal and the Mosaic period the Jews were themselves reduced to hard involuntary servitude in Egypt. The introduction to the ten commandments reminds them of their merciful deliverance "out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," that they might be grateful for so great a mercy and show their gratitude by cheerful obedience to his will, and merciful conduct towards their servants (comp. Deut. v. 15; xv. 15).

Moses, or God through him neither established nor abolished slavery; he authorized and regulated it as an ancient domestic and social institution, which could not be dispensed with at that time, but he also so modified and humanized the same as to raise it far above the character of slavery among the gentiles, even the highly cultivated Greeks and Romans.—The moral law which is embodied in the decalogue, mentions "men-servants and maid-servants" twice, but evidently and most wisely in such general terms and connections as to be equally applicable to hired servants and bond servants. The fourth commandment protects the religious rights of the servants by securing to them the blessings of the Sabbath day; the tenth commandment guards the rights of the master against the passion and cupidity of his neighbor.

The civil law makes first an important distinction between the Hebrew and the Gentile servants. It regarded freedom as the normal and proper condition of the Israelite, and prohibited his reduction to servitude except in two cases, either for theft, when unable to make full restitution (Ex. xxii. 3), or in extreme poverty, when he might sell himself (Levit. xxv. 39). Cruel creditors sometimes forced insol-

ent debtors into servitude (2 Kings iv. 1; Is. l. 1; Nehem. v. 5; comp. Matth. xviii. 25), but this was an abuse which is nowhere authorized. The Hebrew servant moreover was not to be treated like an ordinary bondman, and regained his freedom, without price, and with an outfit (Deut. xv. 14), after six years of service, unless he preferred from attachment or other reasons to remain in bondage to his master. The remembrance of Israel's bondage of Egypt and his merciful deliverance by the hand of the Lord, should inspire every Israelite with kindness to his bondmen. The jubilee, or every fiftieth year, when the whole theocracy was renewed, gave liberty to all slaves of Hebrew descent without distinction, whether they had served six years or not, and made them landed proprietors by restoring to them the possessions of their fathers. Consequently the law, in permitting the Hebrew to be sold, merely suspended his freedom for a limited period, guarded him during the same against bad treatment, and provided for his ultimate emancipation. This is clear from the principal passages bearing on the subject.

"If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: then his master shall bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever*." Exod. xxi. 2-6.

"And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant: but as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee: and then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen. Thou shalt not

* I. e., become permanent and inheritable property like the slaves of heathen origin (Lev. xxv. 46); or, as the Jewish doctors take it, till the year of jubilee. Such limitation, seems to be justified by Lev. xxv. 41, 10.

rule over him with rigor: but shalt fear thy God." Levit. xxv. 39-43. Comp. Deuteron. xv. 12-18.

"This is the word that came unto Jeremiah from the Lord, after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people which were at Jerusalem, to proclaim liberty unto them; that every man should let his man-servant, and every man his maid-servant, being an Hebrew or a Hebrewess, go free; that none should serve himself of them, to wit, of a Jew his brother." Jerem. xxxiv. 8, 9.

Concerning the heathen bondmen who constituted the great majority of slaves among the Hebrews, the law was more severe, and attached them permanently to their master and his posterity.

"Both thy bondmen and they bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." Levit. xxv. 44-46.

But the Mosaic dispensation nowhere degraded even the heathen slave to mere property, or a thing, as the Roman law. It regarded and treated him as a moral and religious being, admitted him to the blessings of the covenant by circumcision (Gen. xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27; Exod. xii. 44), secured him the rest of the sabbath and the festival days and other religious privileges, and protected him against the passion and cruelty of the master and restored him to freedom in case he was violently injured in eye or tooth, that is, according to the spirit of the law, in any member whatever. Finally it numbered kidnapping, or forcible reduction of a freeman, especially an Israelite, to servitude in time of peace, among the blackest crimes, and punished it with death. Take the following passages which refer to all slaves:

"If a man smite his servant, or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money." Exod. xxi. 20, 21.

"If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. And if he smite

out his servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake." Exod. xxi. 26, 27.

"The seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant," etc., Exod. xx. 10.

"that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt," etc. Deut. v. 14, 15. Comp. Deut. xvi. 11, 12, 14 with reference to the annual festivals.

"And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Exod. xxi. 16.

"If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandize of him, or selleth him; then that thief shall die; and thou shalt put evil away from among you." Deut. xxiv. 7.

Such guarantees contrast very favorably with the Roman slave code which knew of no civil and religious rights of the slave, reduced him to the level of mere property and gave the master authority to torture him for evidence and to put him to death. Hence we never read of slave insurrections among the Jews, as among the Greeks and Romans. The difference in treatment was the natural result of a different theory. For the Old Testament teaches the unity of the human race, which is favorable to general equality before the law, while heathen slavery rested on the opposite doctrine of the essential inferiority of all barbarians to the Greeks and Romans and their constitutional unfitness for the rights and privileges of freemen.

If we consider the low and degraded condition of the idolatrous heathen tribes, with whom the Jews in their early history came into contact, we have a right to think that slavery was an actual benefit to them and a training school from barbarian idolatry and licentiousness to the knowledge and worship of the true God. This would explain the more easily a passage, which is sometimes falsely quoted by Abolitionists as a conclusive argument against the fugitive slave law:

"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.

This can, of course, not be understood as applying to all slaves indiscriminately, without involving the law in glaring self-contradiction; for the servants of the Jews were protected by law, like any other property (Exod. xx. 17), they had to be restored, if lost (Dent. xxii. 4; comp 1 Kings II. 39, 40), and passed as an inheritance from parents to children (Levit. xxv. 46); but it must refer, as all good commentators hold, to foreign slaves only, who escaped from heathen masters to the boundaries of the theocracy, and who, if returned, would have been punished with cruel tortures or certain death. Extradition, in such cases, would have been an act of inhumanity repugnant to the spirit of the Jewish religion. Such unfortunate fugitives found an asylum in Israel, as they did even in heathen temples, and since Constantine in every Christian church.

From all that has been said then thus far, we may conclude that, according to the Old Testament, the institution of involuntary and perpetual servitude dates from after the fall and first appears as a punishment and curse; that it was known and practised by the patriarchs; recognized and protected by the Mosaic legislation, but also softened and guarded against various abuses; and that every returning jubilee made an end to Jewish servitude. It does not appear, indeed, that slaves of heathen descent were included in the blessing of jubilee. Their exclusion would have to be explained on the ground of the necessary particularism of the old economy, which was intended merely as a national training school for the universal religion of the Gospel. But on the other hand, the fact that all slaves in Jewish families seem to have been circumcised (Gen. xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27), at least if they wished it (comp. Exod. xii. 44), and were thus incorporated into the Jewish church, seems to justify a more general application of the blessing of jubilee, to all slaves, or at least to all who were circumcised, whether of Jewish descent or not. The language in Levit. xxv. 10 makes no exceptions: "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you;

and ye shall return *every man* unto his possession, and ye shall return *every man* unto his family." At all events the jubilee was a type of that "acceptable year of the Lord" (Is. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 19) which gave spiritual deliverance to all, and will be finally realized in the restoration of all men to their original dignity, freedom and equality, through the Christian salvation from every form of bondage.

GREEK AND ROMAN SLAVERY.

Before we proceed to explain the relation of the New Testament to slavery, it may be well to cast a glance at the extent and character of this institution among those highly civilized heathen nations, among which Christianity was first established.

The ancient republics of Greece and Rome had no idea of general and inalienable rights of men. They consisted in the rule of a small minority of freemen over a mass of foreigners and slaves. The Greeks and Romans looked with aristocratic contempt upon all other nations as barbarians and unfit for freedom. Their philosophers and law-givers regarded slavery as the natural, normal and perpetual condition of society and assumed a constitutional or essential difference between the free-born and the slaves. Aristotle calls a *doulos* or slave "an animated tool, just as a tool is a soulless slave." Occasionally slaves distinguished themselves by great talent or some special merit, and were then used as teachers, or were emancipated, or they bought their liberty. But these were exceptions, which confirmed the rule. The great mass remained in a degraded and wretched condition, whether they belonged to the State as the Helots in Sparta, or to individuals. An active slave trade was carried on, particularly in the Euxine, the eastern provinces, the coast of Africa, Britain, and in the city of Rome where human beings from every tongue and clime were continually offered for sale, generally as nature made them and with a scroll around their neck, on which their good and bad qualities were specified.

The Romans made no distinction between race and color

in this respect. All captives of war, whether Scythians, Phrygians, Nubians, Jews, Gauls, Spaniards, Britons, Germans, also insolvent debtors and criminals were generally sold into slavery. The distinguished Latin poets Terentius, and probably Plautus, the former an African, the latter an Italian by birth, were originally slaves, but acquired their freedom by their talents and industry; and Horace, who moved in the highest circles of the Roman aristocracy, descended from a freedman. The Jewish synagogue at Rome consisted mostly of freedmen. During the Jewish war, Josephus tells us, ninety seven thousand Jews were made captives and either sold to individuals as cheap as horses, or condemned as slaves of the State to hard work in the Egyptian mines, or put to death.

Slavery extended over every province and embraced, according to Gibbon's low estimate, sixty millions, or at least one half of the entire population of the empire under the reign of Claudius; but according to more recent calculations the slaves outnumbered the citizens three to one. For in Attica, the classical spot of Greece, there were, three hundred years before Christ, four hundred thousand slaves (who were counted per head, like cattle) to only twenty one thousand free citizens (exclusive, however, of women and minors), and ten thousand foreign residents. In Sparta the disproportion seems to have been still greater, and to keep down their numbers the Helots were sometimes cruelly and treacherously massacred by thousands. Many wealthy Romans possessed from ten to twenty thousand slaves for mere ostentation. Roman ladies of rank and fashion kept as many as two hundred for their toilet alone. The slaves did all kind of work in the house, the shop, and the kitchen. The Latin language has a great many names for the various classes into which they were divided according to their occupation.*

* These for instance who attended to the table alone, were subdivided into *pistores, coqui, fartores, obsonatores, structores, scissores, pocillatores*; those who were employed for the wardrobe and toilet, into *vestiarii, textores, tonsores, ornatrix, ciniflores, unctores, balneatores, etc. etc.*

In the eyes of the Roman law till the time of the Antonines the slaves were in the fullest sense of the term the property of the master and reduced to the level of the brute. A distinguished writer on civil law thus describes their condition: "The slaves were in a much worse state than any cattle whatsoever. They had no head in the State, no name, no title, no register; they were not capable of being injured; they had no heirs and therefore could make no will; they were not entitled to the rights of matrimony, and therefore had no relief in case of adultery; nor were they proper objects of cognation and affinity, but of quasi-cognition only; they could be sold, transferred, or pawned, as goods or personal estate, for goods they were, and as such they were esteemed; they might be tortured for evidence, punished at the discretion of their lord, and even put to death by his authority; together with many other civil incapacities which I have no room to enumerate." Cato the elder expelled his old and sick slaves out of house and home. Hadrian, one of the most humane of the emperors, willfully destroyed the eye of one of his slaves with a pencil. Roman ladies punished their waiters with sharp iron instruments for the most trifling offences, while attending half dressed to their toilet. Such legal degradation and cruel treatment had the worst effect upon the character of the slaves. They are described by the ancient writers as mean, cowardly, abject, false, voracious, intemperate, voluptuous, also hard and cruel, when placed over others. A proverb prevailed in the Roman empire: "As many slaves as many enemies." Hence the constant danger of servile insurrections which more than once brought the republic to the brink of ruin and seemed to justify the severest measures in self-defense.

It is true, self-interest, natural kindness, and education had their due effect even among the heathen and prompted many masters to take proper care of their slaves. Seneca and Plutarch gave excellent advice which tended to mitigate the evil wherever it was carried out. Legislation also began to improve in the second century and transferred

the power over the life of the slave from the master to the magistrate. But at that time the humanizing influence of Christianity already made itself felt even upon its enemies and impregnated the atmosphere of public opinion.

Roman slavery then was far worse than Jewish servitude. It regarded and treated the slaves as chattles and things, while the latter still respected them as persons, provided for their moral and religious wants, and cheered them with the hope of deliverance in the year of jubilee.

Justice as well as due regard for our national honor and the influence of Christianity requires us also to place the Roman system of slavery far below the American, although the latter no doubt borrowed many obnoxious and revolting statutes from the Roman slave-code. Roman slavery extended over the whole empire and embraced more than one half of its subjects, American slavery is confined to the Southern States and to one eighth of our population; the former made no distinction between race and color, the latter is based on the inferiority of the African race; Rome legalized and protected the foreign slave trade, the United States long since prohibited it as piracy and thus placed the stigma of condemnation upon the original source of negro slavery; the former treated the slaves as mere property, the latter distinctly recognize and protect them as men; the former cared nothing for the souls of the poor slaves, while the latter can never deny altogether the restraining, humanizing and ennobling influence of the Christian religion upon the master, nor refuse its benefits and privileges to the slave.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND SLAVERY.

Such was the system of slavery when Christ appeared, to deliver the world from the bondage of sin and death and to work out a salvation for all races, classes and conditions of men.

The manner in which Christianity dealt with an institution so universally prevalent in its worst forms and so intimately interwoven with the whole private and public life

in the Roman empire, is a strong proof of its practical wisdom and divine origin. It accomplished what no other religion has even attempted before or since. Without interfering with slavery as a political and oeconomical question, without encouraging any revolution or agitation, without denouncing the character or denying the rights of the slaveholder, or creating discontent among the slaves, without disturbing the peace of a single family, without any appeals to the passions and prejudices of men on the evils and abuses of slavery, without requiring or even suggesting immediate emancipation, in one word, without changing the outward and legal relation between the two parties, but solemnly enforcing the rights and duties arising from it to both: Christ and the apostles, nevertheless, from within by purely spiritual and peaceful means, by teaching the common origin and common redemption, the true dignity, equality and destiny of men, by inculcating the principles of universal justice and love, and by raising the most degraded and unfortunate classes of society to virtue and piety, produced a radical moral reformation of the system and prepared the only effectual way for its gradual legitimate and harmless extinction. The Christian Church followed this example and dealt with the system of slavery in the same spirit wherever it found it as an established fact. Any other method would have either effected nothing at all, or done more harm than good. An attempt at sudden emancipation with such abundant materials for servile wars would have thrown the world into hopeless confusion and brought dissolution and ruin upon the empire and the cause of Christianity itself.

The relation of the Gospel to slavery wherever it still exists, remains the same to day as it was in the age of the apostles. The New Testament was written for all ages and conditions of society; it knows no Mason and Dixon's line, and may be as profitably read and as fully practiced in South Carolina as in Massachusetts.

The position of the New Testament is neither anti-slavery, nor pro-slavery in our modern sense of the term, but rises

above all partizan views. It nowhere establishes or abolishes the institution of slavery, as little as monarchy or any other form of government; it neither sanctions nor condemns it; it never meddles with its political and financial aspects and leaves the system as to its policy and profitability to the secular rulers. But it recognizes, tolerates and ameliorates it as an existing and then universally established fact; it treats it under its moral bearings and enjoins the duties and responsibilities of masters and servants; it corrects its abuses, cures the root of the evil and provides the only rational and practical remedy for its ultimate extinction wherever it can be abolished legitimately and with benefit to both parties. Yet, in profound and far-seeing wisdom, it does all this in such a manner that its teachings and admonitions retain their full force and applicability, though every trace of involuntary and perpetual servitude should disappear from the earth.

Hence the unlearned reader of the New Testament seldom observes its allusions to slavery, and may read the Gospels and Epistles without dreaming of the fact, that at the time of their composition more than one half of the human race was kept in literal bondage. Our popular Versions have properly and wisely avoided the words *slaveholder* and *slave*—like the framers of the American Constitution—and have mostly substituted the words *master* and *servant*, which are equally applicable to a free state of society, or the general distinctions of superior and inferior, ruler and subject, which will continue to the end of time. It must be admitted, however, that the term *servant*, as its etymology from the Latin suggests, was originally employed in the menial sense and has acquired a nobler meaning under the influence of Christianity upon all domestic and social relations.

The Greek language has a number of terms for the various kinds of servants, six or seven of which occur in the New Testament.* We will explain three as having a bearing upon the present discussion.

* *Δούλος*, *therapon*, translated *servant* (*minister* would be better, to distin-

1) *misthios* and *misthotos* mean a *hired* servant or *hireling*, and are so translated in the five passages of the New Testament where they occur. They may be slaves and hired out by their masters, or they may not.

2) *doulos* is more frequently used than all other terms put together. We find it, if we made no mistake in counting, one hundred and twenty three times, namely seventy three times in the Gospels, three times in the Acts, thirty three times in the Epistles, and fourteen times in the Apocalypse.* It is uniformly translated *servant* in our English Bible, except in seven instances in the Epistles and in Revelation, where it is rendered either *bond* or *bondman*.† *Doulos* (originally an adjective, *bound*, from the verb *deo*, to bind), like the Latin *servus*, means properly a *bond* servant, or a *slave*, especially one by birth, and is opposed to *eleutheros*, *free-born*, or *freed*, *made free*.‡ Yet like

guish it from *doulos*), occurs but once, and then of Moses, in an honorable sense, Hebr. iii. 5; *ὑπερέτης*, *hyperetes*, generally translated *officer*, sometimes *servant*, or *minister*, occurs several times in the Gospels and Acts, and once in the Epistles (1 Cor. iv. 1); *διάκονος*, *diakonos*, which the Common Version mostly renders *minister*, sometimes *servant*, and when used in its official sense, *deacon*; *παιδὴς* and *παιδίσκος*, *misthios*, *misthotos* (corresponding to the Hebrew *עֶבֶד*) a *hired* servant; *δούλος*, *doulos* (see above); *οἰκῆτος*, *oiketes*, a *domestic* *doulos* or *household* servant and so translated in Acts x. 7; *παῖς*, *pais*, often translated *servant*, sometimes *child*, the least ignominious term for slave, and rather a title of endearment like the Latin *puer* and the English *boy*.

* Besides the masculine *δούλος*, the feminine *δούλη* occurs three times, twice of the Virgin Mary, the *handmaid* of the Lord (Luke i. 28, 48, and in a more general application Acts ii. 18); the neuter *δούλον* twice (Rom. vi. 19: Yield your members *servants* to righteousness); the noun *δουλεία* five times and is uniformly rendered *bondage*; the verb *δουλεύω* twenty five times, generally rendered to *serve*, sometimes to *be in bondage*; and the transitive verb *δουλόω*, to *bring into bondage*, to *enslave*, eight times.

† namely 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 28; Eph. vi. 8; Col. iii. 11; Rev. vi. 15; xiii. 16; xix. 13.

‡ Trench, in his little work on the *Synonyms of the New Testament*, N. York ed. 1857, p. 53, defines *δούλος* as "one in a permanent relation of servitude to another, and that altogether apart from any ministration to that other at the present moment rendered; but the *ὑπερέτης* is the performer of present services, without respect to the fact, whether as a freeman or as a slave he renders them: and thus there goes constantly with the word the sense of one whose services are tenderer, nobler, freer than those of the *δούλος*." Compare also J. Theod. Vömel, *Synonymisches Woerterbuch*, Francf. 1819, p. 78, 79 and 218, 219.

the Hebrew *ebhed*, of which it is the Greek equivalent in the New Testament, it is not necessarily degrading, but simply a term of government and may signify a subject from the highest to the lowest ranks. Ammonius, an ancient writer on Greek synonyms, of the fourth century, gives the word this general sense,* and the Greeks called the Persians *douloi* as subjects of an absolute monarch. The Bible frequently uses the word of the highest and noblest kind of service, the voluntary service of God, which is perfect freedom, as St. Augustine says: *Deo servire vera libertas est*. Moses, the prophets, the apostles and all true Christians are called *douloi* or servants of God and Christ, as being entirely and for life, yet voluntarily and cheerfully devoted to his service.† St. Paul glories in this title,‡ and so does St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, and St. John.§ It would be quite improper in any of these passages to substitute *slave* for *servant*.

3) *andrapodon*|| means always a *slave*, especially one *enslaved in war*. This term is degrading in its etymology and neuter gender, and is used in the vile and abject sense, when the slaves are statistically enumerated or otherwise represented as mere property, or chattles, or things. Now it is a remarkable fact, that the New Testament, which so frequently uses the term *doulos* and about half a dozen words more or less resembling it in meaning, never employs the term *andrapodon*, except once in the derivative

* *Δούλος*, he says as quoted by Vömel, *είσι καὶ οἱ ἡδούλοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκτὸς τῶν βασιλείας* (all who are subjected to the king).

† Compare Luke xii. 37: "Blessed are those servants whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching;" Acts xvi. 17: "These men are the servants of the most high God, which show unto us the way of salvation;" 1 Pet. ii. 16: "as the servants of God;" Rev. i. 1: "to show unto his servants;" x. 7: "declared to his servants the prophets;" xv. 3: "the song of Moses the servant of God;" xix. 6: "Praise our God, all ye his servants."

‡ Rom. i. 1: "Paul a servant (*doulos*) of Jesus Christ;" Gal. i. 10; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i. 1.

§ 2 Pet. i. 1; Jas. i. 1. Jude 1: Rev. i. 1.

|| *ἀνδράποδος*, either from *ἀνδρ* and *πός*, the foot of the conqueror placed on the neck of the conquered, to indicate complete subjugation, or from *ἀνδρ* and *πράσσειν*, to sell a man.

compound, *andrapodistes*, a *man-stealer*, or *slave-trader*, and then in the worst possible company with murderers, whoremongers, liars, perjurers and other gross sinners.* As the term is of very frequent occurrence among the classics and must have been perfectly familiar to the apostles, the omission is significant and must imply the condemnation of the idea involved in it. It suggests to us two different conceptions of slavery, the one represented by the word *doulos*, the other by the word *andrapodon*; the one prevailing among the Jews, the other among the heathen; the one which still regards and treats the slave as a person, the other which degrades him to mere property; the one recognized by the apostles, the other disowned by them as irreconcilable with the spirit of the Gospel.

Slavery indeed always implies the double relation of lordship or government, and of possession or property. The former makes the slave-holder simply a ruler and patron of his subject, and although liable to abuse, like every other kind of power in the hands of sinful and erring man, may be altogether unselfish, humane and beneficial, just as an absolute monarchy may be the best form of government in the hands of a good monarch who rules in the fear of God and with a single eye to the happiness of his subjects while incapable of self-government. The latter makes the slave holder the proprietor or owner of the slave and gives him the legal—though not the moral—right to turn the *doulos* into an *andrapodon*, the person into a mere thing or “animated tool,” and to dispose of him as of any other article of merchandize for his own profit. The predominance of the one or the other of these ideas determines the character of the institution and tends either to the ele-

* 1 Tim. i. 10. The Common Version and most commentators translate this word *manstealer*, or *kidnapper*, who enslaves free persons and sells them, —a crime punished with death under the Old Testament, Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7. But some dictionaries assign to *ἀνδραποδιστής* also the more general meaning of *slave-trader*, just as *κεφαλαιοτής* is not a *money-stealer*, but a *money-changer* (John ii. 14). * It is pretty certain that the apostle would have embraced all persons engaged in the horrors of the African slave-trade under the same category and condemnation.

vation, or the degradation of the slave. In the Jewish servitude the governmental idea strongly prevailed over the mercenary; in the Roman, the mercenary over the governmental. The New Testament retains and recognizes the governmental idea as an existing fact, and nowhere denounces it as sinful in itself, but it divests it of its harshness and guards it against abuse, by reminding the master of his moral responsibility and inspiring him with kindness and charity to his slave as a brother in Christ and fellow-heir of the same kingdom of glory in heaven. But the mercenary idea is entirely ignored in the New Testament or indirectly condemned with every other form of selfishness. Hence we find not a word about traffic in men, about buying and selling human beings; the very idea is repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel. The slave, without distinction of race and color, is uniformly spoken of as a personal being clothed with the same moral rights and duties, redeemed by the same blood of Christ, sanctified by the same Spirit, and called to the same immortality and glory as his master. Wherever the governmental idea holds the mercenary so completely in check and yields to the influence of Christian morality, it may be a wholesome training school for inferior races, as it is in fact with the African negroes, until they are capable to govern themselves.

Christianity attaches comparatively little importance to slavery and freedom in the civil and political sense. Its mission lies far deeper. It is a new moral creation, which commences with the inmost life of humanity, although it looks to the resurrection of the body and the glorious liberty of the children of God as its final consummation. It is intensely spiritual in its nature and takes its position far above the temporal relations of this world, which is continually changing and passing away. Wholly occupied with the eternal interests and welfare of man, it sinks all the social distinctions of earth and time in the common sinfulness and guilt before God and the common salvation through Christ. Rising above the limits of nationality and race, it proclaims a universal religion and opens a fountain

of pardon and peace, where the Jew and the Gentile, the Greek and the barbarian, the freeman and the slave, on the single condition of renouncing sin and turning to God, may receive the same spiritual and eternal blessings and unite in a common brotherhood of faith and love. It is so pliable and applicable, so free and independent in its own elevated sphere, that it can accommodate itself to every condition and can be practised in every calling of life. It requires no man to give up his occupation after conversion, unless it be sinful in its nature; but remaining in it, he should faithfully serve God and honor his profession. If a slave can legitimately gain his freedom, so much the better, for freedom is the normal condition of man; but if he cannot, he need not be discouraged, for by faith in Christ he is a freeman in the highest and best sense of the term, a brother and fellow-heir, with his believing master, of eternal glory in heaven. Civil bondage may be a great evil, but not near as great as the moral bondage of sin; civil freedom may be a great good, but only temporal at best, and not to be compared with the spiritual freedom which elevates the humblest Christian slave far above his heathen master. All earthly distinctions and blessings vanish into utter insignificance when compared with the eternal realities of the kingdom of heaven.

This is clearly the view which St. Paul takes in the following passages:

"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond (*doulos*) nor free (*eleutheros*), there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal. iii. 28.

"Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all in all." Col. iii. 11.

"For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." 1 Cor. xii. 13.

"Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather [namely freedom].* For he that is called in

* It is a singular fact that Chrysostom, and the ancient commentators, supply *doctus*, slavery, to the verb in the sense: even if, or although thou mayest be

the Lord, *being* a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, *being* free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price: be not ye the servants of men. Brethren, let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with God." 1 Cor. vii. 20-24.

How widely different this position and language of the inspired apostle, who was the greatest benefactor of the slave and the most effectual, because the wisest emancipationist, from that of our modern Abolitionists of the infidel type, who secularize the holy philanthropy of the Gospel; subordinate the spiritual relations to the temporal, magnify the slavery question above every other moral question, denounce slavery under every form, in fierce, bitter, fanatical language, as the greatest sin and crime of our age and country, and our federal constitution, owing to its connection with it, as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell!"

From this elevated stand-point above the changing and passing distinctions of time and sense, the apostles approach the master and the servant alike with the same call to repent and believe, with the same offer of the gospel salvation, requiring the same change of their heart, though not of their outward condition, admitting both to the Christian Church, inviting them to the same table of the Lord, and urging them as church members to a faithful discharge of the general Christian duties and of those special duties which grow out of their legal and social relation to each other. Take the following exhortations:

Eph. vi. 5-9: "Servants (*δουλοι*), be obedient to them that are your masters (*τοις κυριοις*) according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye service as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God

free, remain rather a slave in order to show the more by contrast thy spiritual freedom. But Calvin, Grotius, Whitby, Doddridge, Olshausen, Neander and nearly all modern interpreters (except De Wette and Meyer) supply *disciple*, freedom,—an exposition already mentioned although not approved by Chrysostom, and clearly preferable on account of the verb use, the particles *but* and *rather* (*ἀλλὰ—καὶ*) and of v. 23 ("be not ye the servants of men"), as well as for internal reasons. For it can not be doubted for a moment that Paul, himself a Roman citizen, regarded freedom as the normal and far preferable state, wherever it could be legitimately and honorably attained.

from the heart ; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men : knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether *he be* bond or free.—And ye masters (*kyrioi*), do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening : knowing that your Master also is in heaven ; neither is there respect of persons with him."

Col. iii. 22-25 : "Servants obey in all things *your* masters according to the flesh ; not with eyeservice as men-pleasers ; but in singleness of heart, fearing God ; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men ; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance : for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong, shall receive for the wrong which he hath done : and there is no respect of persons."

Col. iv. 1 : "Masters, give unto *your* servants that which is just and equal ; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

1 Tim. vi. 1-2 : "Let as many servants as are under the yoke [i. e. bond servants] count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren ; but rather do *them* service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort."

Tit. ii. 9, 10 : "Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please *them* well in all things [which legitimately belong to them in their capacity as masters] ; not answering again ; not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity ; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things."

1 Peter ii. 18-20 : "Servants (*oiketai*, domestic slaves, or household servants) be subject to *your* masters (*tois despotais*) with all fear ; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently ? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God."

The sense of all these passages is plain and can not be mistaken, except under the influence of the strongest prejudice against slavery under every form.

First as to the servants, they are nowhere exhorted or advised to run away from their masters, however hard their condition may have been and no doubt was at the time, especially in heathen families, nor to revolt and disobey, but on the contrary to obey their masters, whether heathen or Jewish or Christian, whether hard and cruel or gentle and kind, in all things belonging to their proper

authority and not conflicting with the authority of God and the law of conscience, and to obey cheerfully, in the fear of God and from a sense of duty, and thus to adorn and commend their holy profession; remembering always in their outward bondage that they enjoy spiritual freedom in Christ which no man could take from them, and that in the prospect of everlasting glory in heaven they might well forgo the comparatively small advantage of civil freedom in this present transient life.

Secondly the masters are nowhere required or even advised to emancipate their slaves. This matter, like all direct control over private possessions and secular business, the apostles regarded as lying beyond their proper authority; for Christ himself, with His unfailing wisdom, refused to be a divider of property, and simply warned the contending parties against covetousness (Luke xii. 14.) Hence they left it to the free choice of the slaveholders and their own sense of duty, which in this case depends upon the effects of the measure or the probable benefit arising from it to both parties, especially the slave himself. Christ never alludes to the subject of emancipation in his personal teaching; but if the servant of the gentile centurion was a slave, as in all probability he was,* we would have a strong proof from his own mouth for the perfect compatibility of slaveholding with a high order of Christian piety; for he said of the centurion: "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel" (Matth. viii. 10; Luke vii. 9). The apostles expressly denounce men-stealing or—if you choose to give the word *andrapodistes* this wider sense—slave-trading (1 Tim. i. 10); but they never enumerate slaveholding in any of their catalogues of sins and crimes, however complete and minute;† they nowhere make non-slaveholding a term of church membership; on the contra-

* In Luke vii. 2 he is called *δούλος*, *doulos* and in Matth. viii. 6 *καὶς*, *pais*, which is the least ignominious term for slave. It is evident both from Matth. viii. 9 and Luke vii. 8, that the centurion had many soldiers and servants under his authority. He was probably a proselyte of the gate, or a half convert to Judaism, but certainly uncircumcised, and hence held up to the Jews proper as an example of faith.

† For instance Rom. i. 29-31; Gal. v. 19-31; compare Matth. xv. 19;

ry, St. Paul speaks of certain masters of "servants under the yoke," i. e., slaveholders, who are "faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit" (1 Tim. vi. 1, 2); and addresses Philemon, who was a slaveholder at the time, as "a brother, dearly beloved and fellow-laborer," that is, either an officer of the congregation at Colosse, or an active lay-member (Philem. v. 1, 7). On the other hand the apostles still less recommend the masters to sell their slaves and to make money out of them, and by doing so perhaps to sunder the sacred ties between husband and wife, parents and children. But they uniformly exhort them to give to their slaves all that is just and equitable; to treat them with humanity, kindness and charity, even as they would like to be treated according to the well known maxim of Christ; to forbear even threatening, not to mention those cruel punishments which the Roman law authorized and which were so common at the time; and in this whole relation to remember that they, too, have a Master in heaven, that the Christian slaves are freedmen of Christ and their brethren by faith, and that God is no respecter of persons.

The most striking example of the moral reformation which the spirit of Christianity carried into the institution of slavery, without interfering with its legal rights, is furnished by St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon. The apostle had converted the runaway slave Onesimus at Rome, and although he might have made good use of him, he sent him back to his rightful master Philemon, yet no longer as a servant or slave (*doulos*) only, "but more than a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but now much more unto thee, both in the flesh [i. e., in his temporal or earthly relations as a servant, compare Eph. vi. 5] and in the Lord" [i. e., his spiritual relation as a Christian brother], adding the request to receive him as he would the apostle himself (v. 16, 17).*

Here we have the whole doctrine and practice of Christianity on this subject as in a nut-shell. Paul exhibits in this most touching letter the highest type of the Christian

Mark vii. 21, 22; 1 Cor. v. 11; vi. 9, 10; Eph. v. 5; Col. iii. 8, 9; 1 Tim. i. 9, 10; 2 Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4.

* That Onesimus was a slave, is manifest both from the general tenor of the

gentleman and philanthropist. He distinctly acknowledges the legal and social relation as it existed between Philemon and Onesimus, and combines the strictest regard for the rights of the one with the deepest interest in the welfare of the other. He addresses the slaveholder as a "brother, dearly beloved and fellow-laborer," and restores to him his servant, but as a Christian brother, pleading for him as for his own child, promising reparation if he had done wrong, demanding a remission of all penalty, soliciting the sympathy and affection of the master for the penitent fugitive, and promising to receive these favors as bestowed upon himself. This is the love of an inspired apostle, himself a prisoner at the time, for a poor runaway slave! And yet it is only a spark of that love which induced the eternal Son of God to shed his own blood for the sins of the world.

If our Southern slaveholders were all animated by this heavenly spirit of love and would act on Paul's request to Philemon, they would indeed become the greatest benefactors of the unfortunate negro race.

It is perfectly evident then that Christianity made no direct and immediate change in the outward legal and social relation of slavery; but wherever it prevailed, it transfused a new spirit into the institution, changed the hard Roman slavery into a mild patriarchal service and subordinated the social distinction of the two parties to the religious equality and brotherhood in Christ, their common Lord and Saviour. It cured the root of the evil and produced a new order of society even where the outward form continued unchanged. It always works, like heaven, from within, and not from without; it frees the soul first and then the body. The opposite process, commencing with external and sudden emancipation, would only have done harm and

Epistle, and the implication in *Tit. lvi. &c. below*, *no more as a slave*, v. 16, and is universally conceded by all ancient and modern commentators of any note. It was left for Mr. Albert Barnes, in the nineteenth century, to make the great discovery that Onesimus *may* have been an *apprentice*, because "it is quite as common for apprentices to run away, as it is for slaves!" Legendary tradition relates, that he was afterwards set free by Philemon and became a Christian-bishop of Beroea in Macedonia.

involved master and slave in common ruin, before the true spiritual remedy could have been applied.

The external extinction of slavery, we all know, was the slow process of centuries and is not yet completed to this day. It still exists under various forms over a great part of the Christian world. Nevertheless the progress is steady and irresistible. Wherever the spirit of Christianity, which is the spirit of universal justice and love, works its way into the fibres of domestic and public life, it inevitably raises the intellectual and moral condition of the slave population, and thus prepares them for the right use of a higher social position, so that in due time, all other interests of civilization concurring, the legal emancipation becomes not only practicable and harmless, but desirable and beneficial to both parties. In this gradual, peaceful and righteous way Christianity mastered the Jewish, Greek, and Roman slavery of ancient times; it then modified and conquered the various forms of bondage and vassalage among the Romanic and Germanic nations of the middle ages; it is now assisting in the gradual emancipation of the twenty-two millions of serfs in Russia; and it will no doubt in its own good way and time solve also the difficult problem of African servitude in America for the common benefit of the white and the black races, which are here mysteriously and providentially brought together.

Of all forms of slavery the American is the most difficult to dispose of, because it is not only a question of domestic institution and political economy, but of race. *The negro question lies far deeper than the slavery question.* Emancipation here is no solution. The negro question was never presented in such magnitude and with such responsibility to any other people; for England and France had to do with it only in their distant colonies, and instead of solving the problem by immediate and absolute emancipation, they have ruined their colonies and presented the question of race in a more difficult form. Should we then not have patience and forbearance and wait the time which Providence in its own wisdom and mercy has appointed for the solution of a problem which thus far has baffled the wisdom of the wisest statesmen. But the process of solution

has undoubtedly begun long since. We should never ungratefully forget, amidst all the exciting passions, criminations and recriminations of political parties, that in the hands of Providence and under the genial influence of Christianity this American slavery in spite of all its incidental evils and abuses has already accomplished much good. It has been thus far a wholesome training school for the negro from the lowest state of heathenism and barbarism to some degree of Christian civilization, and in its ultimate result it will no doubt prove an immense blessing to the whole race of Ham.

The less the people in the North meddle with the system in the way of political agitation and uncharitable abuse, the sooner this desirable end, so dear to every Christian and patriotic heart, will be reached. The sooner we take the vexing and perplexing question out of the turmoil of federal politics, and leave it with the several slave States, in the hands of Christian philanthropy, and of an all-wise Providence, the better for the peace of the whole country.

In the mean time it is the duty of the slaveholding States, on whom the whole responsibility and legislative authority properly devolves, not, indeed, to precipitate the four millions of negroes into a state of independence for which they are wholly unprepared and which could only be disastrous to them, but by separate State action and remedial codes to diminish as much as possible the evils and to prevent the abuses of slavery in their own midst, to provide for the proper moral and religious training of the negroes committed to their care, and thus to make the institution beneficial to both races while it lasts, and to prepare the way for its ultimate extinction without injury to either. In this noble effort the people of the South eminently deserve the hearty sympathy, the friendly counsel, and the liberal coöperation of their brethren in the North.

This is the Bible view and the Bible remedy of slavery. It is as true and effective to day as ever. On this basis alone can peace be restored, the Union preserved, and the greatest modern problem of political oecumeny and Christian philanthropy solved for the good of America, of Africa and the world.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE, FOUNDATION, AND EXTENT OF MORAL OBLIGATION, INVOLVING THE NATURE OF DUTY, OF HOLINESS, AND OF SIN: being an Introduction to the Study of Moral Science in all its branches, including the Legal, Theological, and Governmental. By David Metcalf. Boston: Crosby, Nichols Lee & Co. 1860. pp. 486.

An elaborate and consistent discussion of the doctrine of eudæmonism—the theory of moral obligation, of holiness and sin, which holds *right* to be the tendency of an action to promote happiness, either individual or general, or both, and *wrong* to be the tendency of an action to produce misery. The author begins with the general principle that *all the Good, and only that Good*, which can be done, ought to be done. p. 19. This is the primary, fundamental, original law, and *ultimate* rule of all moral obligation, of duty, of right, of justice, and of all righteous doing. p. 20. The only ultimate and absolute good, is *happiness*, which is the greatest enjoyment of which an individual is susceptible, or of which the universe is susceptible. Right is only a relative good; a good because it is the means of producing happiness. Holiness is not an absolute or ultimate good, but a relative good; it is not an end in itself, but only a means to some other end; that end is the well-being of the individual, and of the human race; for happiness and the means of happiness include all possible good conceivable. p. 93. So of virtue, which is moral goodness. The moral goodness and moral value of holy action lies ultimately in its being the voluntary, intended promotion of happiness; or in the designed adaptation and tendency of that action to promote the greatest happiness, as its ultimate object. Therefore all moral goodness is relative. p. 80. Moral obligation is that by which rational beings are bound to choose the best and most efficacious means of doing all the good in their power; p. 22, and *all good* consists either in some agreeable feeling or happy state of a sentient being; or in some thing or being which is productive of some happy state. p. 71. Moral law is a rule of voluntary action to moral agents, which rule requires such moral acts as are best adapted to produce the most valuable amount of general well-being. p. 23.

According to this theory God Himself is not the absolute good. Though the only absolute being, the Creator of the universe, and the Fountain of all blessedness, he is nevertheless only a relative good—a good in as far as he produces, or promotes human happiness. Man is the ultimate end; and God is valuable as means. Nor is Christ the ultimate good. The true God united to perfect manhood, the Life and Light of the world, before whom every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, of things in earth, and things under the earth, and whom every tongue shall confess to be Lord, to the glory of God the Father—He is after all not *the* good but only *a* good; and not even a good in Himself, but a good only in His relation to human happiness. The work of Christ is good from its connection with the well-being of the human race and of the universe. Obedience to Christ is obligatory not because He commands it and is worthy of it, but because such obedience advances our highest interests—not from regard to Him, but from regard to self. Faith in Christ as it respects ourselves is a duty, but as it respects Himself only a matter of expediency.

The work of Rev. Mr. Metcalf is the fullest development of the principle of Benevolent Utility, as he calls it, that has been given to the American public. It is logical also. The author does not evade the legitimate consequences of the system. To those who wish to examine a discussion of the theory of Ethics, taught by the elder and younger Edwards; by Dwight and Emmons; by Paley and Malebranche; by Epicurus, Aristotle and Aristippus, we commend the book as a systematic, able and earnest production. It can be obtained from the author, Worcester, Mass. Price \$1.25cts.

E. V. G.

SINAI AND ZION: or, A Pilgrimage through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise. By Benjamin Bausman. With Illustrations. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1861. pp. 543.

We announced this volume in the last number of the *Review*, several advance sheets having been sent us by the enterprising publishers. An examination of the whole work sustains the opinion we were then prompted to express of its merits. The Land of Promise is a rich theme. The most elaborate works have been written upon it, by those who rank among the first

scholars both in America and in Europe. Yet it is not exhausted. Each production, however thorough and minute it may be, as for example the *Biblical Researches* by Dr. Edward Robinson, or the *Land and the Book*, by W. M. Thomson, or *Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai* by Dr. Richard Lepsius, only prepares the way for more satisfactory and interesting investigations. Mr. Bausman has looked upon the earthly Canaan with his own eyes, but also with the eyes of others. The rich fruits of others' toils he has gathered industriously; and, thus qualified, he makes his own observations, exercises his own judgment and gives his own views and illustrations.

Leaving Naples for Malta and Alexandria, the author takes us first to Cairo, thence along the Nile to the Pyramids, and by the Red Sea to Mount Sinai; thence across the Arabian Desert, by way of Ezion-geber and Petra, to Beersheba and Jerusalem. After viewing the Holy City and its surroundings, we accompany him to Jericho, the Jordan and the Dead Sea; thence northward to Bethel, Samaria, Esdraelon, Nazareth, Mount Carmel and the Sea of Tiberias; thence, after visiting the Lake of Merom, Cesarea Philippi, Damascus and Baalbeck, we wend our way across the Lebanon to Beirout, and the cities of the sea-coast. Here we bid adieu to the desolated Land of Promise and, turning our faces once more towards the setting-sun, are home-ward bound.

Along this entire route, than which none more deeply interesting could be projected, one object after another rises to view in life-like images, colored indeed by the author's own mind, yet standing out in distinct outline and in their real proportions and manifold relations. The reflections accompanying the narrative and the descriptions, suggest themselves naturally. They answer the very questions that a pious mind is moved to put by the circumstances of the occasion, as times and places and events are vividly reproduced; and answer them, too, as they are related to the Cross of Christ at whose foot the author stands in faith, looking down the vista of the past in the light which that Cross radiates.

We thank the author for this valuable contribution to the literature of Egypt, Arabia and Palestine; and earnestly recommend the work to all who would see the bleak mountain on which the Law was given by Moses, and traverse the Holy Land where grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

E. V. G.